

STUDIES IN TIBETO-HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES-II

# TRIBAL LANGUAGES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

PART - 1

D D Sharma

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**PART—I**



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**(Part—I)**

**D. D. SHARMA**



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## PREFACE

In recent years, under the influence of American School of Linguistics, there has been a phenomenal rise in descriptive studies of languages, the world over. In India, too, descriptive analyses have been carried out of a number of cultivated and uncultivated languages or dialects by individual researchers and institutions, but little interest has been evinced towards the study of tribal dialects of western and central Himalayas, because of the inaccessibility to these arid, rugged and snow-bound mountainous regions. Even the *Linguistic Survey of India* offers very little information about the languages spoken in these regions because of non-availability of the relevant material to the editor of the great Survey. There are many dialects spoken in these regions about which the Survey is quite silent, and there are some about the existence of which only passing references have been made in it. In this context, it may, however, be mentioned that with regard to the description of these Himalayan dialects, George Grierson has very honestly accepted the inadequacy of his analyses of these dialects and has made suggestions here and there, for further investigations into the structure of these. The volume III, Pt. I of the L.S.I., which pertains to the information on the languages under consideration was published in 1908, but till today our knowledge about the languages of this region is the same as it was 80 years back when Grierson introduced them to us, there has been no addition to it whatsoever.

It was in 1965 that the author of these lines came into contact with Padmabhushan Dr. Siddhesvar Varma, the 'king of linguistics' in India and at his instance started working on Central Pahari languages of Lower Himalayan regions, in

which now he (the author) has made substantial contributions. It was later on that he inspired me to undertake the study of the languages of the higher Himalayan regions as well. At that time I had little idea of the inhospitalities of the area and of the magnitude of the work ahead. But then I had enough energy in me and was full of enthusiasm to undertake the task of exploration of unexplored areas. So this shifted my area of operation from lower Himalayas to higher Himalayas. Finding it more convenient at Chandigarh, I first started collecting material on tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh with the help of tribal students from there. The first expedition for the collection of first hand data from the field area was undertaken in 1980 and the valley of Lahul, also termed as 'Himalyan Wonderland', was the first target of this linguistic hunt. This proved very rewarding. For, it was during this expedition that I came across the Indo-Aryan speaking Chinals, who still speak a variety of Old Indo-Aryan in this snow bound Himalayan valley. The flash of this discovery by the print media of this country on July 8, 1980, brought an applause for the investigator from all sections of the society in the country. Later on the first detailed account of one of the dialects of this valley came to light in 1982 under the caption, "A Descriptive Analysis of Pattani", a brief outline of which is being included in the present volume as well.

Being encouraged by this success an ambitious plan was drawn to undertake a descriptive analysis of all the languages/dialects of the whole Himalayas from Ladakh in the west to Bhutan in the east. This was submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for its consideration for Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship. The expert committee of the Fund was considerate enough to favour this scheme for this prestigious academic award in 1984. By the time the investigator had already completed the survey of the tribal areas of Lahul-Spiti and Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh and this fellowship enabled him to visit other tribal Himalayan regions in India, Nepal and Bhutan in the next two years. In the mean time 'the Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri' also was completed which has appeared as the first volume of the series—*Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages* (1988).

The present volume deals with Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh. For the convenience of greater details it has been divided into two parts, *viz.*

Part I. Tibeto-Himalayan Dialects of Lahul.

Part II. Tibeto-Himalayan Dialects of Spiti, Kinnaur and Pangti.

In the context of the languages dealt with in the 1st part of this volume it may be stated that some of these were introduced to us, for the first time, by Christian Missionaries in the second half of the last century and in the beginning of this century. (Rev. H. A. Jaschke, makes a mention of Bunan for the first time in his paper published in 1865, vide LSI III, 1:428), About Pattani (Manchati) it has been said that the first glimpses of it, along with a grammatical sketch and a short vocabulary are found in A. H. Diack's book, "The Kulu Dialect of Hindi" published in 1896 from Lahore and Rev. A. H. Francke's translation of the Gospel of St. Mark (L.S.I. III Pt. I, p. 453). Diack's book contains some grammatical notes and short vocabularies on Bunan (Gahri) and Rangloi as well. The first systematic account, though quite sketchy, of Pattani (Manchati) and Gahri (Bunan) is found in the monumental survey of Grierson (L.S.I. III, Pt. I, pp. 453-78), including a one and a half page note on Rangloi or Tinani. As such till 1982, when the first publication on Pattani from the pen of the present author appeared, George Grierson's work (L.S.I. Vol. III, pt. I) was the only source of knowledge about the languages of this region, though short references to some of these are found in T. S. Negi's book (1976) as well.

The linguistic material presented in this volume is entirely based on the first hand recording of it in the area as well as at Chandigarh by the author himself over a period of 10 years. Although many speakers from the area have contributed to the understanding of the linguistic structures of languages presented in this volume, yet the author is particularly grateful to the following individuals who willingly put their services at his disposal for days together both in the field as well as at Chandigarh, without whose kind cooperation execution of this difficult task was almost unthinkable. They are—Acharya

Prem Singh (Shansha), Shri Sher Singh (Shansa), Miss Pushpa Thakur (Jalma), Miss Chhime (Tholang) for Pattani; Shri K. Angroop Lama (Lower Keylong), Shri Urgyan Dorje (Upper Keylong-Guskyar) for Gahri; Shri Amar Chand Thakur (Thorang) and Shri Bir Singh (Jangla) for Tinan; Shri Sonam Rinchan (Rang-yo) and Shri Lal Chand (Teeno) for Tod.

I am also grateful to the authorities of Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi, who by way of awarding the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship to me in 1984-86 made it possible for me to visit the area for the second time and to have more first hand and authentic information on the languages/dialects of this snow bound mid-Himalayan region, popularly known as 'Himalayan wonderland'.

Lastly, my thanks are due to M/s. Mittal Publications, Delhi, who have gracefully undertaken the task of publication of the whole series of 'Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages', the first volume of which is already in the hands of scholars under the title—*A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri*'.

Chandigarh.

—D. D. SHARMA

20th Oct. (Dashara)  
1988

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## TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although phonetic values of all the phonemes used for the transcription of the dialects concerned have been indicated in their phonemic inventories, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of the symbols in Devanagari script is being given below:

*Vowels:* ɒ (अ), a (आ), i (इ), i:/i (ई), u (उ), u:/ū (ऊ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ), ɔ (औ).

*Consonants:* k (क) kh (ख), g (ग) g (ग) gh (घ), ŋ (ङ), c (च), č (च्), ch (छ), čh (च्च्), j (ज), z (झ), ž (झ), jh (झ), ñ (ञ), ʈ (ट), ʈh (ठ), ɖ (ड), ɖ (ड), ɖh (ड्), ɖh (ड्), ɳ (ण), t (त), th (थ), d (द), dh (ध), n (न), p (प), ph (फ), b (ब), bh (भ), m (म्), y (य), r (र), l (ल), l (ल), lh (ल्), w (व), ʃ (श), ʂ (ष), s (स), h (ह).

The phonetic sign used in this study may be interpreted as under:

- : = in relation to
- < = comes from; is derived from,
- > = becomes; develops into,
- /- = or; alternate form,
- ~ = nasalization (above the vowel),
- .. = centralization (above the vowel),

- ~ = in free variation; free form (after the morph).
- [ ] = phonetic form
- / / = phonemic form
- = rewritten as.
- + added to, plus juncture (pause).

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

It may be in the fitness of the context that some background information about the tribal languages of this sub-continent and the position of the Tibeto-Himalayan group of languages in the linguistic scenario of it, may be given to the readers before they are introduced to the linguistic area and the languages to be discussed in this volume.

### 1. Tribes and Tribal Languages

To be precise we may say that the statistics of the population of Indian sub-continent tell us that the tribes of India constitute nearly six per cent of the total population of it. They speak a number of dialects and sub-dialects of which slightly more than 100 have been classified as tribal languages. Though, from the point of population, the number of the speakers of these languages is the smallest, yet the number of languages spoken by them is the largest. Grierson rightly sums up the situation as "a formless ever moving ant-hords of dialects".

Numerically, the largest number of tribal languages out of the four linguistic families of this sub-continent belong either to the Austro-Asiatic family or the Tibeto-Himalayan family. And locationally, the languages of the latter group are spoken in the southern slopes of the Greater Himalayas, intercepted

by high mountains ranging from 12,000' to 25,000' above the sea level, scattered in several strategic and sensitive international frontiers of this country, right from Ladakh in the west to North-Eastern frontiers in Arunachal Pradesh in the east. The great variety of tribal languages of this group, spoken in the above mentioned territories, have been broadly grouped as Tibetan/Bhotia and Himalayan. The dialects of the former group are again divided into (1) Western Bhotia and (2) Eastern Bhotia. In India the languages of the Western Bhotia group are represented by Ladakhi, Balti, Purik in the state of J & K, and by Stod, Spitian and Upper Kinnauri dialects in the state of Himachal Pradesh and Jad in the state of Uttar Pradesh, and the dialects of eastern Bhotia group are represented by Tolcha-Marcha dialects of the Garhwal Himalayas, Darmiya, Chaudansi and Byansi dialects of Kumaun Himalayas, and Sikkimese of Sikkim. Besides many Himalayan dialects of Nepal and the Monpa dialect of Arunachal Pradesh also belong to the Bhotia group of Tibeto-Himalayan. It is regrettable that one of the dialects of the eastern Bhotia group, viz. Rangkas, the dialect of Johar is lost to us for ever, due to the shift of Johari speakers to the Kumauni dialect of the region.

And the languages of the latter group, viz. Himalayan group are represented by Pattani, Tinani, and Gahri in Lahul, Kanashi in Malana (Kulu) and Kinnauri in Kinnaur, in the state of Himachal Pradesh, Raji in Pithoragarh district of Uttar Pradesh, and Lepcha and Limbu in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal and Sikkim. The languages of this group are also designated as "Pronominalized" languages, some of which are spoken in Nepal as well.

But the study of these languages has remained totally neglected. Most of these are either unknown or little known even to linguists, not to talk of common man. This statement is particularly relevant with regard to the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, because in the study of Tribal languages, whatsoever it was, our linguists have mainly focussed their attention to the study of the tribal languages of Bihar, Assam, NEFA and Madhya Pradesh which primarily

belong to Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman groups.

The state governments, too, under whose jurisdiction these languages fall, have paid little attention to their development because of the preferential treatment given to the predominant languages of the regions. Although reports of the commissioners of the linguistic minorities have been often drawing the attention of state governments towards the discriminatory treatment being meted out to tribal dialects of the region, yet no government has taken it seriously as yet. There has not been any encouragement even for the academic exercise of the cultivation or preservation of the variety and richness of these linguistic treasures. Consequently, these are vanishing day by day under the impact of so called modernization. As such there is an urgent need of making efforts to preserve the genius and the beauty of these languages which is sure to make the fabric of national unity more colourful. It needs no mention that in the past we have already lost a number of languages irrevocably and the sad story is sure to be repeated if we continue to be indifferent towards the preservation of our this invaluable cultural heritage.

## **2. Location of the Area**

Now with this brief account of the situation of tribal languages in this country, we would like to introduce the readers to the linguistic area and the languages to be discussed in this volume.

The linguistic area under consideration is known as Lahul. It is the border tribal area of the state Himachal Pradesh and a sub-division of the district Lahul and Spiti. Geographically, it is situated somewhere between north latitude  $31^{\circ} 44' 57''$  and  $32^{\circ} 59' 57''$  and between east longitude  $76^{\circ} 46' 29''$  and  $78^{\circ} 41' 34''$ . The valley of Lahul is comprised of four sub-valleys, viz. Tod, Gahr, Pattan and Tinan, drained by rivers Chandra and Bhaga, separately, as well as jointly. (see the map).

## **3. Land Area and Population**

According to the census of India 1981 (series, 7, paper 1, supplement, referred by Statistical outline of H. P. 1981,



Table 2.2) the total area of the district Lahul and Spiti is 13,688 sq. km. with the population of 32,065. Although an exact estimation of the land area in these Himalayan regions is a very difficult task, yet the land area, including mountain ranges, of Lahul sub-division alone has been estimated as 1943.2 sq. km. and the population, including the S.T. area of Udaipur as 21,680 (*ibid.* T. 2.5). There are no towns in this district and the total number of villages in this sub-division is 188 (T. 2.5). The greater part of the land area is mountainous, rocky and barren. The density of population in the district, according to 1971 census is 2 persons per sq. km. which is the lowest figure among the districts of Himachal Pradesh (Gazetteer, 1975:46). The total scheduled tribe population of the district has been worked out as 68.41% of the total population of it (S.O.H.P. 1981, T. 2.7).

#### 4. Topography

Topographically, the whole of the Lahul sub-division is situated at the elevation of 10-12 thousand feet above the sea level in the southern slopes of the snow clad mountains of the Central Himalayas rising from 15-20 thousand feet at many points. In the north it borders on the Janskar (Ladakh) region of the state Jammu and Kashmir, in the south on the Kullu district of the state Himachal Pradesh, in the north-east on the Spiti sub-division of it, and in the west on the district of Chamba (H.P.). The only access to this land is through four famous mountain Passes situated on four directions of it. These are Rohtang Pass (13,500'), the southern gateway to it, and separates it from Kullu and the plains of the country; the Baralacha Pass (14,670'), the source of the rivers Chandra and Bhaga, which is northern gateway to it and separates it from the Janskar region of Ladakh in J & K. Kunzum Pass (14,931'), which regulates the entry to this land from the north-eastern boundary of it. It is the highest pass and remains open for a few months only, it separates Lahaul from the Spiti sub-division of the district. The fourth Pass is the Sanch Pass (14,000') which regulates the entry to Lahul from the west of it and separates it from Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh.

But on account of heavy snow fall and consequent closure of these passes, which are the only gateways to this region, it remains cut off from the rest of the world for the greater part of the year, i.e. from November to June (lately a fortnightly helicopter service between Shimla and Kyelong has been introduced by the Govt. of H.P.). During winter, due to heavy snow fall from 10'-12' the mercury falls down upto 20° below the freezing point. Outside movement, even within the valley, becomes difficult, virtually bringing all outside activities to a stand still.

### 5. Physical Distribution

The whole sub-division is divided into three valleys, clearly demarcated from one another. Accordingly the valleys and the areas covered by them are as under:

(1) *Chandra Valley*: Chandra valley starts from Gramphu the first inhabitation falling on the way of the river Chandra 72 miles down stream from its source in the south-eastern foot of the Baralacha Pass. It consists of four Kothis (Jagirs) viz. Khoksar, Sissu, Gondhla, and Gushal, all situated on the right bank of the river and spread over nearly 37 km in length and 1-2 km in breadth. The upper part of this valley comprising the *Kothi* of Khoksar is called Ranglo, i.e. from Gramphu to Sissu Nullah and the lower part comprising the remaining three kothis, i.e. from Sissu to Tandi is called Tinan.

(2) *Bhaga Valley*: The Bhaga Valley which, primarily, is inhabited on the right bank of it, starts from Darcha the first village, on the down stream of the river Bhaga, where after passing the barren and rocky land from its source in the south-western foot of the Baralach Pass, it enters into this valley and also meets its tributaries, the Yoche Nullah and the Zanskar-chhu from Darcha to Kolong it is called the Stod or Upper Valley and from Kolong to Tandi, the confluence of the Chandra and the Bhaga, it is known as Gahr or the higher ground valley. Kyelong, the biggest village of this valley and the modern head quarters of the district Lahul and Spiti, and Kardang, the one time capital of Lahul and seat

of a famous monastery of this name, are respectively situated on the right and the left banks of it. It consists of four *kothis* viz. Kardang, Gumrang and Barbog and Kolong, the first three falling in Gahr valley and the forth in the Tod valley.

(3) *Chandra-Bhaga Valley*: The Chandra-Bhaga valley, also known as Pattan Valley or Changsa is extended from Tandi, the point of confluence of these two rivers, to Udaipur or Mayar Nullah on the boundary with Chamba, a distance of over 55 km. It is the most thickly populated and fertile valley of Lahul. The six *kothis* comprising this valley are—Tandi, Warpa, Ranika, Shansha, Jalma and Jobrang. Prior to 1975 this valley was divided into two parts, viz. British Lahul and Chamba Lahul. But in 1975 it was integrated into one single unit by annexing four Patwar circles, viz. Tindi, Udaipur, Triloknath, and Mayar Nullah, to it, thus extending its boundary beyond the Thirot Nullah to the borders of Chamba.

The remaining part of Lahul consists of High pinacled mountain ranges rising to a mean elevation of about 5,480 metres above the sea level to the highest peak exceeding 6,400 metres. Thus, topographically, the most conspicuous feature of this land are the high mountain ranges and narrow river valleys.

## 6. Linguistic Scenario

The valley of Lahul with a population of hardly 22 thousand souls presents a colourful picture of its linguistic components. According to A. G. Grierson (L.S.I. VOL. III, pt. I) the dialects spoken there are Manchad, Tinan, Bunan and Rangloi. Of these—Manchad is the dialect of Pattan valley, Bunan of Gahr valley, Tinan of Tinan valley and Rangloi of the Upper valleys of Chandra and Bhaga. There is no mention of Tod or of the two Indo-Aryan dialects, viz. Chinali and Lohari spoken in lower valleys of the Chandra and the Chandra Bhaga in his survey. But at present the linguistic situation attested in this region is like this:

There are at least seven dialects which may be termed as Tod, Gahri (Funan/Bunan), Rangloi, Tinani, Pattani

(Manchadi), Chinali (Dagi) and Lohari. Out of these Tod and Rangloi (which Grierson has identified as one (*ibid.* p. 467) belong to Tibeto-Burman and are spoken in the upper valleys of the Chandra and the Bhaga and are close to the Bhoti language of Spiti and Janskar showing minor differences from one another. Punan, Manchad and Tinan, which belong to Tibeto-Himalayan group of pronominalized languages are spoken in the valleys of Gahr, Pattan and Tinan respectively, while Chinali (Dagi) and Lohari which belong to the Indo-Aryan group, are spoken by the Chahn and Lohar communities of Lahul who are scattered mostly in the lower valleys of Chandra and Bhaga and in the Pattan valley of the Chandra-Bhaga. It is surprising that scholars like Grierson, A. G.; Bailey, T. G.; Diack, A. H.; Francke, A. H.; who have given some information about the dialects of this valley, have not made even a mention of the existence of these Indo-Aryan dialects of antiquarian character in these mid-Himalayan regions. It was only in 1980 that the author of these lines discovered the existence of these dialects of highly historical value in this region. The news of the existence of a language preserving the characteristics of Old Indo-Aryan to a great extent when flashed by the print media of this country<sup>1</sup> aroused a keen interest among scholars to have more details of it. Consequently, many articles and research papers and editorials appeared in different dailies and research journals in the coming months.<sup>2</sup>

Although Lohari and Chinali belong to the same linguistic group, yet Chinali shows a higher degree of preservation of Old Indo-Aryan elements as compared with Lohari.

The close connection between the languages of the Himalayan group and Bhotia groups may be illustrated by a few

1. See the *Statesman*, *The National Herald*, *The Indian Express*, etc. July 8, 1980.
2. *The Statesman* (18.9.80), *The Tribune* (26.8.80), *The Panjab Kesari* (21.8.80), *The Nagpur Times* (21.8.80), *The Sudharma* (13.11.80), and *Nepali Linguistics* (vol. 2, 1983). *The Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute* (vol. 38-39, 1980), *Vishva Jyoti* (Dec. 80), *Somast* (July 1980), etc.

vocabulary items presented in the following table.

	Pattani	Tinani	Gahri	Tod	Spitian
ant	purigča	kurkutig	kurkutig	kurkuti ?	themañ-bu
arrow	cuñ	cuñ	srin	dha	dha
ashes	təb	təb	kyugsa	kothəl	khoktəl
axe	kəŕzi	kəŕzi	təkəŕči	təri	tiri
autumn	kərnəm	kərnəm	luñ	tonka	tonka
bangle	nəñ	nəñca	nəñči	du	qhu
barley	thanzəd	zed	zəd	ne	nhə
belly	khog	khog	dən/khog- če	qho?pa	thodpa
bird	pya	pyača	pyači	zhipa	zha
black	roki	roki	khəi	na?pho	nhagpo
blood	šui	šui	šu	tha?	thak/thuk
blue	tiñi	tingi	tiñi	nonpo	nonpo
broom	preg	preg	pregči	segdud	nhunkil
cloud	du	du	du/prin	srin	šin
cold	soi	soi	soi	qhañmo	thañmo
comb	šugca	šugca	šugci/sasəd	sobañ	šisəd
crow	kag	krag	khwag	garo?	krok
door	pitañ	pitañ	pitañ	gora	go
dream	məñ	məñ druñ	məñs	miləm	migləm
ear	rheŕa/reŕa	rheŕa/reŕa	reči	nəmco?	nəməzok
field	rhi	ri/rig	rig	zinka	sinka
forehead	phyā	phyatər	phyatər	tha?pa	šala
heavy	lhi	li	lii	cinte	cinte
horn	qe	qe	qe/ruco	ruco	raco
horse	rhəñ	rhəñ	rhəñ	ta	ta
knee	puš	puš	peš	pi?mo	pilmo
mouse	piuca	pica	pyuci	sabli	pea
pillow	kum	kum	khum	ñe	ñe luk
path	əm	əmca	əmci	əm	əm

### **7. Linguistic Sub-Strata**

An historical peep into the vocabulary and structure of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group and also of the Indo-Aryan group makes it evident that these have many layers of linguistic sub-strata beneath their visible surface structures. There is a positive evidence that the lower most stratum of the languages of the former group pertains to the Austro-Asiatic group of languages and of the latter to Old Indo-Aryan, the layer of the Tibeto-Burman elements is the upper most one.

Here we shall first take up the problem of languages pertaining to Himalayan group, viz. Pattani, Tinani and Gahri and the Bhotia group, viz. Tod. The historical relationship of Chinali/Lohari has been taken up separately, along with their description.

The most interesting structural aspect of the languages of this Himalayan group is the existence of a fairly good amount of structural elements attested in the languages of the Mundari group. Existence of these elements in these tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh was noticed by earlier investigators as well. T.G. Bailey with reference to Kinnauri has observed that it is one of the complex pronominalized languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group and shows many signs of Munda sub-stratum. (1938:46). Similarly Rev. Franke too had noticed Munda elements in the dialects of Lahul as well.

In fact, it was in 1905 that the attention of scholars was, for the first time, drawn to the close affinity between Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Himachal Pradesh, mainly spoken in the Kinnaur and Lahul regions of it, and the Munda languages being spoken in Chhota Nagpur, Santhal Pargana of Bihar, and in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, by Sten Konow. The Austro-Asiatic elements so prominently noticed by Konow in these dialects led George Grierson to remark, "the indications of the ancient Munda influence on the forms of speech of Tibeto-Himalayan dialects is a matter of greatest interest. It connects languages spoken in Lahul, Kinnaur and Chamba with the Munda languages of Central India, and through them with the Khasi, spoken in Assam, and with Mon-Khmer languages of farther India". (L.S.I. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 59).

In these languages the Munda characteristics are so prominent that these stand apart from the other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan groups. Besides the prevalence of vigesimal numeral system<sup>1</sup> there are a number of morphological elements which follow the basic Munda patterns (see linguistic peculiarities), e.g. /ci/~/chi/what? (Pat. & Tod.), /aba/father- (cf. *aba* Mundari, Bonda, Didey, Birhor etc), /trui/six (cf. *turul* (Mundari, Ho, Soroa), *turru* (Kharria), *tiri* (Gta ?), *tur* (Parengi, etc.) /datri/(Pat.)/dači/(Gahri) (cf. *datrom* sickle (Korwa, Korku), *ḍhoḍpa*/belly (Tod) (cf. *ḍhoḍa* belly)./le/tongue (G., Tin.)/lhe/(Pat.)=lən (Munda), /id/(pat) one=mid (Munda)./zai/to eat (Pat. Tin)./zare/(Gahri), /zace/Tod=*zom* to eat (Mundari), /rosi/burn (Pat. Tin.)=*ro* to burn (M.).

Another linguistic stream that has submerged into the mainstream of these languages and has left its strong impact on it, but towards which little attention has been paid by scholars who have worked on these languages, is the Zhang Zhung language, the chief vehicle of Bon religion once having its predominance over the Western Tibet and throughout the Himalayan regions before Buddhism and its vehicle Central Tibetan language was super imposed on the speech of the people of these regions. In Lahul the languages betray a considerable impact of it, though to some extent it is traceable in other dialects of the T.H. group as well. It may be illustrated by the following common vocabulary item belonging to purely Zhang Zhung origin; not attested either in Tibetan or in I.A.

Vocable	Zhang- Zhung	Gahri	Pattani	Tinani	Tod	Tibetan
1. arrow	hrim	hrim (srim)	cuñ	cuñ	dha	mda
2. air	le/li	lən	lən	lən	luñ-po	rluñ-po
3. arm	khriče	khyučī	rṭñ	khyuča	puñ-pa	lug-pa

1. See author's paper 'Tibeto-Himalayan Numeral System, *PURBA*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 175-90.

Vocable	Zhang- Zhung	Gahri	Pattani	Tinani	Tod	Tibetan
4. barley	zðd	zðd	than̄zðd	zðd	ne	nas
5. belly	khog-čə	khog-če	khog	khðg	ðho ? pa	rgod-pa (ðodpa)
6. blue	tiñ	tiñi	tiñi	tiñgi	non-po	non-po
7. body	rko- phug	zugs	phuka	zuga	su?po	zug-po/ lus
8. cloud	du	du	du	du	srin	sprin(ñin)
9. ear	rðče	reči	rheṭra/ reṭa	rheṭra/ reṭa	nðmco	rna
10. father	ba	awa	ba	aba	aba	pha/ apha
11. girl/ aughter	gyemeča	čemed	myo	gyemeča	bhumo	bomo
12. god	sðd	sðd	sðd	sðd	concoḡ	lha
13. gold	zhi	ser	zðñ	zðñ	ser	gser
14. head	pu/ puša	puša	punza	balog	go	mgo
15. hill	rirðñ	rirðñ	gó	gó	ḡha	gañ/ri
16. horse	hrðñs	hrðñs (srðñs)	rhðñ	rhðñ	ta	rta
17. hundred	ra	gya	ra	ra	gya	gya
18. mouth	ag	ðg	ðs	ðs	kha	kha
19. nose	šgyum	gyum	na	na	ña	sna
20. oldman	šaṇ-ṭa	šaṇ-ṭe	hyan- de	khyañ- ṭe	ghepo	rgad- po
21. oldwoman	šaṇ-ze	šaṇ-zi	hyañ- zi	hyañ- ča	ghemo	rgan- mo



Vocable	Zhang- Zhung	Gaari	Pattani	Tinani	Tod	Tibetan
22. red	māñ	māñi	sei	māñi	mār-po	mār-po
23. ribs	hrib	hrib (śrib)	hrispa	rispə	sibu	rcewa- ma
24. water	tin	soti	ti	soti	chu	chu
25. woman	čāmed	čemed	meč-mi	meča	bomo	bud- med

Its close contact with Tibetan dialects spoken in its northern and eastern frontiers and also the religious impact of Buddhism has influenced its vocabulary to a great extent. The percentage of Tibetan vocabulary and also of the grammatical structure is fairly high in the varieties of upper regions adjoining Spiti and Zanskar, viz. Tod and Rangloi and moderate in the dialects of the lower regions of it. But in the present analyses of these languages the historical aspects of them have not been taken into account. As such it is a purely descriptive or structural analysis of them. The historical aspects likely to be taken up later on.

### 8. Linguistic Peculiarities

The Himalayan dialects of Lahul, as noted above, possess, on account of historical reasons, a number of linguistic peculiarities which exist neither in Indo-Aryan, nor in Tibeto-Burman languages which are the immediate neighbours of them. A few of these may be pointed out as under:

(1) *Pronominal inflection*: In the languages of this group all personal pronouns, for all the cases, are inflected for three numbers, viz. singular, dual and plural (see pronouns in respective sections).

(2) *Inclusive and exclusiveness in the first person*: The complexity of inclusion or the exclusion of the addressee in the dual and plural forms of first person pronoun is a peculiar feature of these languages. Consequently, these maintain two

separate stems for the 1st person pronoun, viz. one for exclusive and the other for inclusive. There in the use of the former type the addressee is excluded from taking part in the action in question, whereas in the use of the latter he is included (see Pattani—5(3), 5.1; Tin. 3(3) Gahri—(5)(3), 5.1).

(3) *Complexity of honorific and non-honorific pronominal and verbal forms*: Some of these languages maintain a fulfilled system of honorific and non-honorific in the second and third person pronominal and verbal forms (see Tod. 3 (b), 3.1; Gahri-5.(4) 5.1; Pat 5. (4), 5.1).

(4) *Dichotomy of animate and inanimate*: Besides the dichotomy of honorific and non-honorific, these languages also exhibit the dichotomy of animate and inanimate with respect to formative suffixes, case suffixes and gender suffixes (see Pat. 4.2.1, 4.4; Tin. 3.3.3(b) Tod. 2.3.4.1 (i)(b), Gahri—4.3.1, 4.5.1).

In nominal and pronominal inflections, too, the nouns and pronouns standing for inanimate objects are inflected for locative case with case suffixes, whereas those for animate objects take only post positions.

From the point of gender, too, it has been noticed that animate objects have a gender distinction, but all inanimate objects are genderless. The animates also make further distinction between human and non-human beings.

(5) *Pronominalization*: The most distinguishing feature of these languages is the incorporation of the pronominal subject/object in the given verbal form itself. Accordingly, the first and the second person pronominal subjects are mostly represented by the affixes *-g/* first person, and *-n/* second person and conversely the absence of these suffixes implies the subject as being third person, (see Pat. 5.2, 8.8.4; Tin. 3(2), 5.6; Gahri. 5(3), 8.4.1-3).

Infixation between the root and the formative suffix which is a characteristic feature of Mundari is also attested in some cases.

Further details, with regard to these linguistic peculiarities will be found under the heads of different dialects. Thus we find that in the assessment of the characteristics of the

Tibeto-Himalayan dialects of this region Rev. A. H. Francke is nearer the truth than A. G. Grierson. According to Grierson 'the languages of Lahul are nearer to the languages of western and central Tibetan and in many details agree with the Tibetan of Spiti' (L.S.I. III, Pt. I, p. 69). But according to Francke— "The little country of Lahaul possesses three different languages which are not Aryan and are only distantly related to Tibetan. These languages Punan, Manchad and Tinan are the chief sources of our knowledge regarding the ancient history of Lahaul. It has been proved that to relationship with Mundari languages of the aborigines of India (Bhil, Kol, Santhals and Juanji) is exactly the same as that of Kanwari. As regards their vocabulary, they show a strong resemblance to Tibetan, but in point of grammar they differ widely from any Tibetan dialect and show surprising co-incidence with Mundari. There are peculiarities of numeration, a complicated system of personal pronouns, a very full system of conjugation, a strange pronominal infix, and half pronounced consonants at the end of words, all of which peculiarities agree solely with the Mundari and with no other self languages". (Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Quoted by T. S. Negi, 1976:80).

### 9. Number of Speakers

The total population of Lahul, including the I.A. speaking scheduled castes, has roughly been estimated at about 22000. Regrettably, no statistics of valley-wise population or language-wise speakers is available either in the district gazetteer of Lahul and Spiti (1975) or in the Statistical Hand Book (1981). In the census the people of the valley have returned their mother-tongue as Lahuli, Bhotia or Tibetan. According to an old census (1961) record 10,954 persons have returned Lahuli as their mothertongue which comes to 54 % of the total population of the area. Next in order comes *Bhotia* which was returned by 6,180 persons and when worked out constitutes nearly 30 % of the population. (cf. Gazetteer, 1975:49).

**PATTANI**  
**(Manchadi)**

*Introductory Note*  
*Sound System*  
*Grammatical Structure*

## PATTANI—INTRODUCTION

### Linguistic Area

Pattāni or Manchadi is spoken throughout the valley, situated on both the banks of the river Chandra—Bhaga from its confluence at Tandi to Udaipur on the border of the district Chamba. It is the mother tongue of all the caste Hindus, viz. Swanglas and Mongoloid Buddhists inhabiting the whole valley, and it frequently used as a medium of communication by the Indo-Aryan speaking Chahns (Chinals) and Lohars (Garas). Moreover, it is widely understood in other valleys of Lahul and as such serves as a *lingua franca* for the whole region. Thus as compared with others, this dialect is spoken in a considerably wider area and by a larger number of people. The important inhabitations falling under the jurisdiction of this language are—Tandi, Loṭ, Tholang, Kirting, Mālang, Wāring, Shānshā, Jobrang, Jālmā Junḍā, Nalḍā, Shakoli, Muring, Thiroṭ, Triloknath, Udaipur, etc.

### Literature

It has no literature, except the Gospel of St. Mark translated into it by Rev. A. H. Francke and the Parable of the Prodigal Son prepared by Rev. A. W. Heyde and printed on pp. 459-60 in the L.S.I. III, Pt. I. Prior to the publication of 'A Descriptive Analysis of Pattani' by the author of these lines, in 1982, the only scanty material available on this dialect was a grammatical sketch of it by A. G. Grierson (vol. III, pt. I, pp. 453-58).

### Sources of Data

The present analysis of this dialect is entirely based on first hand recording of the material by the author himself between 1980-86, in the field as well as at Chandigarh from the principal informants, viz. Acharya Prem Singh and Shri Sher

e/u :	/keṭri/ to put in :	/kuṭri/ to say
	/trei/ sheep :	/trui/ six
i/e :	/mi/ man :	/me/ fire
	/lhi/ heavy :	/lhe/ tongue
ɪ/θ :	/rhin/ sister :	/rhən/ horse
	/im/ sleep :	/θm/ path
u/a :	/ku/ nine :	/ka/ walnut
	/cuci/ to call :	/caci/ to stop.
o/a :	/kro/ charcoal :	/kra/ hair
	/yo/ son :	/ya/ mother
u/θ :	/um/ waist :	/θm/ path
	/thur/ reins :	/thər/ leopard
o/θ :	/zoi/ to walk :	/zθi/ to eat
	/hyoci/ to spend :	/hyθci/ to come,
a/θ :	/ka/ walnut :	/kθ/ thou
	/api/ sister :	/θpi/ to come

Pattani, does not attest contrast of identical vowels based on their long and short quantities, except in paralinguistic environments.

#### 1.1.1. *Contrast between a vowel and semi-vowel:*

i/y : /minzi/ ripe    /myanzi/ to smell, to taste

u/w : /toci/ to have    /twaci/ to ask for, to beg.

(for more examples see Sharma, 1982, 27-28).

#### 1.2. *Vocalic Sequences*

There are no diphthongs in it. However, occurrence of vowels in a sequence is not infrequent. Their sequence too, is not restricted, *i.e.* any one of these can occur as a first or the second member of the sequence with distinct syllabic entity. Occurrence of /i, u/ as a second member is more common than as first member. These may be illustrated as follows:

*Sequences with /i/ as second member:*

/ui/ :	/ʒui/ blood :	/khui/ dog
/oi/ :	/soi/ cold	/doi/ to meet
/ei/ :	/trei/ sheep	/sei/ red
/aī/ :	/kakai/ brother's wife :	/raī/ you give (pl.)
/ði/ :	/rði/ half	„ : /zði/ to eat
/il/ :	/ðtiī/ you come	: /iliī/ you went

*Sequences with /u/ as second member:*

/iu/ :	/piuca/ mouse :	/tiu/ of water
/eu/ :	/dreu/ husband younger brother.	
/au/ :	/maũ/ bed bug :	/aũ/ which ?
/ou/ :	/thou/ his, her :	/drou/ of the thigh
/ðu/ :	/prðu/ speak (imp.) :	/pyðu/ bird's.

*Sequences with other vowels as second member:*

/ia/ :	/mianzi/ to taste, to smell :	/choria/ buttocks
/ua/ :	/nhuā/ younger brother :	/muandri/ to stretch
/io/ :	/mio/~myo/ daughter	
/ae/ :	/khrae/ late	
/eo/ :	/keoto/ he will place :	/preoto/ he will speak.

However, occurrence of /ə/ as a second member could not be attested with any vowel.

Three member sequences are attested in morphological constructions only.

**1.3. Distribution**

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions, without any restriction. This can be illustrated as under:

/i/—/im/ sleep, /min/ name, /ʒui/ blood
/e/—/eke/ sun, /ʒed/ shame/ dede/ sister (elder).

/ð/—/ðg/ vegetable, /nðm/ manure/, /kð/ thou

/a/—/a/ mouth, /cak/ bamboo, /ba/ father.

/u/—/um/ waist, /phug/ cave, /ðu/ cloud.

/o/—/ðr/where, /mod/ face, /so/ clay.

(for more examples, see Sharma, 1982, 39-45).

#### 1.4. Allophonic Variations

Allophonic variations in vowels are attested both in their quantity as well as quality, which are as follows:

1.4.1. *Quantitative variations*: The intrinsic quantity of a vowel in Pattani is short which is maintained in all monosyllabic words and in the initial syllable of a disyllabic and polysyllabic word, as in /im/ sleep, /ðm/ path, /mi/ man, /ipi/ to go, /me/ fire, /eke/ sun, /cha/ salt, /hyañde/oldman, /mul/ silver, /šui/ blood, /kurča/ lamb, /so/ clay, /mod/ face, /goča/ rock.

But it is realized longer to its intrinsic quantity when occurring in a pre-pausal environment of a disyllabic or polysyllabic word as in /migt/ tears, /ereg/ yesterday, /dede/ elder sister, /lhəcəðm/ moon, /šukča/ comb, /papa/ breast, /muthu/ neck, /pəzu/ bridge, /poko/ warm. In the above examples even in the case of identical vowels, the vowels in the initial syllable are short and in the non-initial syllable are longer as in /dede./, /muthu/ /ibi/ to go, /poko/ etc. (for more details, see Sharma, 1982 : 39-45).

1.4.2 *Qualitative variants*: Vowels e, o, ð, /attest qualitative variants as well, in their respective phonetic environments:

(i) /e/→[E] : The mid front vowel /e/ is realized as low front vowel viz. /E/ an opener variant, before a nasal consonant or with nasality, as in /semi/=[sEmi] soul, /ñeči/=[ñEci] by us.

/e/→[ye] : The mid-front vowel /e/ also tends to be realized with a front glide /y/ when followed by /i/ in the succeeding syllable, as in /meci/=[myeci] woman, /tepci/=[tyepci] to burry, /keṭri/=[kyeṭri] to say.



(ii) /o/→[ɔ] : The mid back rounded vowel /o/ attests an opener and lower variant similar to low rounded back vowel /ɔ/ before a nasal consonant or when occurring with nasality, as in /toŋzi/=[tɔŋzi] to hide, /toŋ/=[tɔŋ] inside, room, /dhōri/=[dh~ri] fog.

(iii) /ə/→[e] : The central vowel /ə/ is usually, realized as the mid front vowel /e/ when it is followed by the high front vowel /i/, as in /kəi/=[kei] by you, /lhəi/=[lhei] to do, /zəi/=[zei] to eat, /prəi/=[prei] to say.

/ə/→[ʌ] : The central vowel has an opener variant when occurring before a velar nasal as in /nəŋ/=[nʌŋ] in, /bicəŋ/=[bicʌŋ] between.

1.4.3. *Nasalized variants* : All vowels, in Pattani, tend to be nasalized when occurring with nasal consonants, as in /ŋa/=[ŋã] five, /ma/=[mã] not, kaŋe/=[kãŋe] blind, /soŋi/=[s~ŋi] floor, /ŋa/=[ŋã] fish.

1.4.4. *Glottalized variant*: Besides the above noted phonetic variants of vowels, there is one more variant which may be termed as glottalized variant, marked as /ʔ/ in this description. In it a vowel is realized with a temporary glottal stop before a voiced plosive, particularly /g/ and /d/, as in /thagci/=[thaʔqci] to break, /tighig/=[tiʔglihiʔg] egg, /mod/=[moʔt] face. It is a non-phonemic feature in Pattani.

## 2. CONSONANTS

In Pattani, the number of consonant phonemes, established on the basis of their phonemic contrast is 40. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The class of plosives, affricates and dental fricative further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of voice, and almost all classes of consonants, except the fricatives and the frictionless continuants attest the opposition of presence vs. absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schemetically be presented as under:

## Place of Articulation

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation							
		Bilabial	Dental (including postalveolar)	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	VI. Vd.	p, ph b, bh	t, th, d, dh		c, ch j (jh)	ʈ, ʈh ɖ, ɖh	k, kh ? g, gh	
Affricate	VI. Vd.			ʈʂ, ʈʂh ʣ, ʣh				
Nasal		m, mh	n, nh	X	ɲ	ɳ	ŋ	
	asp.							
	Unasp.							
Vibrant							r,	
	Asp.						rh	
	Unasp,							
Flapped								
	Asp.						ɾh	
	Unasp.							
Lateral (Partial closer)					l,			
	Asp.				lh,			
Fricative	VI.	s			ʃ	ʂ	h	
(Narrowing)	Vd.	z						
Frictionless		w			y			
Continuant								

## 2.1. Phonemic Contrasts

With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonant phonemes in Pattani, it may be mentioned that, though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrast of their phonetic features are copiously attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there are only a few which attest these contrasts. In fact, like many other languages of this group, Pattani too, being predominantly a vowel ending language, seldom allows plosive consonants to occur in the final position. As such the scope

of the contrast of these consonants, particularly aspirate or unvoiced plosives is limited in it. Consequently, the four fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too is normally attested in the initial position only, it is almost neutralized in the medial and final positions in a polysyllabic word. The phonemic contrasts of consonants available in Pattani may be illustrated as under:

### PLOSIVES

*Bilabials* : /p, ph, b, bh/

p/b : /pyà/ bird : /byá/ marriage.

/pi/ four : /bi/ to (acc. marker).

p/ph : /pya/ bird : /phya/ forehead.

/prei/ to speak : /phrei/ fat.

ph/bh : /phruçi/ to shake : /bhruci/ to wipe.

*Dentals* : /t, th, d, dh/

t/d : /ti/ water : /di/ this.

/tðn/ narrow : /dðn/ then, after that.

t/th : /taci/ to lend : /thaci/ to listen.

/tenzi/to close : /thinzi to spread.

/d/dh : /dðn/ wild goat : /dhðn/ wealth.

*Retroflex* : /ɽ, ʈh, ɖ, ɖh/

ɽ/ɖ : /ɽu/ smoke : /ɖu/ cloud.

/ɽrug/ perspiration : /ɖrug/ rainbow.

ɽ/ʈh : /ɽrðu/ an agri. instrument : /ʈhrðu/ a pot.

ɖ/ɖh : /ɖer/ flood : /ɖher/ heap.

*Flapped* : /ɾ, ɾh/

ɾ/ɾh : /mɐɾ/ inn : /mɐɾh/ corpse.

*Palatals* : /c, ch, j/

c/j : /cəl cəl/ round (small) : /jəl jəl/ round (big).

c/ch : /ca/ tea : /cha/ tooth.

*Velars* : /k, kh, g, gh/

k/g : /phuk/ body : /phug/ cave.

k/kh : /kog/ meal : /khog/ belly.  
/kui/ to steal : /khui/ dog.

k/gh : /kha/ walnut : /gha/ wound.

g/gh : /gwdn/ a belch : /ghwdn/ cow.

### AFFRICATES

*Palato-alveolar* : /č, čh, dž/z/

/c/ch : /čdm/ hair : čhdm/ bridge.

č/z : /karči/ binnowing basket : /karzi/ an axe.

čh/dž : /čhđn/ nest : /dzđn/ gold.

*Contrast between palatal plosives and affricates:*

c/č : /cđm/ skin : /čđm/ hair

/cđrci/ to weigh : /čđrci/ to send

ch/čh : /cha/ tooth /čha/ salt.

*Palatal affricates and fricatives* : /č, čh, ž, š, y/

c/š : /cyakči/ to pinch : /cyakši/ to wash.

čh/š : /čha/ salt : /ša/ meet.

dž/y : /džo/ to go (forward) : /yo/ son.

*Nasals* : /m, n, ñ, ɳ/

m/n : mđgđr/ crocodile : /nđgđr/village.

/mđn/ medicine : /nđn/ utensil.

m/ɳ : /ma/ not : /ɳa/ five.

m/ñ : /ma/ not : /ñā/ nose

ɳ/ñ : /ɳa/ five : /ñā/ nose.

n/ɳ : /na/ now : /ɳa/ five.

n/ñ : /neci/ to know : /ñeci/ by us.

n/nh : /nđg/ bag for load : /nhđg/ pus.

m/mh : /moɽe/ big, great : /mhoɽe/ very big.

*Liquids* : /l, lh, r, rh/

- l/lh : /la/ goat : /lha/ month, mountain pass.  
 /leči/ to put on : /lheči/ to remove snow.  
 r/rh : /rēñ/ arm : /rhēñ/ horse.  
 /ri/ a measuring pot : /rhi/ field.

*Contrast between lateral, flapped and trill:*

- l/ɭ : /šule/ slow : /šule/ white, clean  
 r/r̥ : /lwar/ iron smith : /lwar̥/ a local cake  
 r/ɭ : /gari/ a dialect : /gaɭi/ abuse  
 r/l : /kθr/ star : /kθl/ window  
 /la/ goat : /ra/ hundred

*Fricatives : /š, s, ʃ, z/*

- š/s : /ša/ meat : /sa/ ten  
 /šūši/ cooked : /suši/ rotten, rough  
 s/ʃ : /sal/ year : /ʃəl/ summer  
 /se/ a liar : /ʃe/ apple.  
 ʃ/z : /šu-/ to be : /ʃo/ day, earth.  
 /ʃəl/ dysentery : /ʃəl/ summer  
 s/z : /sa/ ten : /za/ gold  
 /sir/ sand : /zir/ birth  
 h/φ : /rhēñ/ horse : /rēñ/ colour, /hyoci/ to spend :  
 /yoci/ easy.

*Semi-vowels : /y, w/*

- y/w : /cyakči/ to prick : /cwakči/ to scratch.

(for more examples see Sharma, 1982 : 29-34).

## 2.2. Contrast between Simple and Geminated Consonants

In Pattani, almost all consonants, except fricatives and semi-vowels, attest a contrast with their geminated or lengthened forms in many predicatable and non-predictable environments, e.g. /iča/ one : /ičča/ alone ; /rēñi/ widow : /rēññi/ prostitute, /bicēñ/ between : /biččēñ/ in the centre. /kwači/ small : /kwačči/ very small, etc. (also see Sharma, 1982 : 1.7.1).

### 2.3. Phonemic Status of Voiced Aspirates

Though occurrence of voiced aspirates is attested in a few native and loan words, yet in the absence of clear phonemic contrasts between voiced plosives and voiced aspirate plosives the case for their phonemic status is not very strong. Moreover, their clear perception is limited to loan words from Indo-Aryan speeches and in the speech of Aryan Swanglas only. There too, occurrence of some of these like /gh/, /ḡh/, /lh/ is confined to the initial position only. Still in view of Swangla speakers these have been accorded the status of fulfilled phonemes. They are, in fact, in a transitory stage at present, and are sure to have many clear contrasts in future, due to increasing influence of Hindi.

### 2.4. Distribution

Distributionally, all the consonants, and semi-vowels, except /ŋ/ can occur in the initial position and all, including /ŋ/ and semi-vowels, can occur in the medial position, but occurrence of many consonants in the final position is restricted. The commonly attested consonants occurring in this position are nasals, liquids, sibilants and voiced plosives. Occurrence of unvoiced plosives is confined to I.A. loans only. Moreover, occurrence of /t/, /tʰ/ and /n/ is attested in a non-initial positions only, as in /ḡet/ flood, /ḡhwəŋ/ cow, etc. These may be illustrated as follows:

/p/—/pi/ four, /tepč̣i/ to press, /sup/ seath.

/ph/—/phuk/ body, /khiphca/ buttocks, /sirph/ only

/b/—/ba/ father, /baba/ uncle, /tub/ fist.

/bh/—/brim/ eyelid, /gobhi/ cauliflower.

/t/—/tin/ nail, /bhiti/ wall, /rat/ night

/th/—/thak/ black, /muthu/ neck, /gith/ song

/d/—/dagu/ grandfather, /dede/ sister, /mod/ face

/dh/—/ḡhul/ dust, /ḡdhrəŋ/ paralysis.

- /c/—/cinj/ hoof, /ači/ sister,  
 /ch/—/chači/ tired, /much/ mustache  
 /j/—/jum/ two, /bijli/ electricity, /roj/ daily.  
 /jh/—/jhðkh/ dirt, /jhðlh/ madness (only initial)  
 /č/—/čuñ/ arrow, /kurča/ lamb  
 /čh/—/čha/ salt, /achi/ to get up  
 /z/—/zā/ gold, /pranzi/ to vomit  
 /t/—/tapri/ rice, /kuṭ-ri/ to say, /bu : t/ shoes  
 /th/—/thuru/ leg, /kəñthi/ necklace, /buṭh/ tree  
 /ḍ/—/ḍu/ cloud, /uḍrə/ flower  
 /ḍh/—/ḍhol/ drum, /ḍher/ heap (only initial)  
 /ɾ/—/boɾu/ marygold, /guɾ/ hand.  
 /ɾh/—/məɾh/ corps (only final).  
 /k/—/kum/ pillow, /kakə/ lizard, /cak/ bamboo  
 /kh/—/khui/ dog, /hyukholki/ evening, /pakh/ wing.  
 /g/—/guha/ fox, /dagu/ grandfather, /mug/ snow  
 /gh/—/ghrusu/ street, /ḍughe/ deep,  
 /m/—/mi/ man /meme/ grandfather, /im/ sleep  
 /n/—/naki/ soft, /panu/ milk, /gun/ winter  
 /ñ/—/ña/ nose, /həñar/ darkness,  
 /ṇ/—/ṇa/ five, /hyaṇde/ oldman, /cuñ/ arrow  
 /ṇ/—/soni/ ground, /niṣaṇ/ drum  
 /l/—/la/ goat, /šule/ slowly, /sal/ year  
 /lh/—/lhe/ tongue, /jhðlh/ madness  
 /l/—/šule/ white, /hə/ a plough

/ɾ/—/re/ eight, /kurča/ lamb, /mār/ ghee  
 /rh/—/rhig/louse, /rhu/ father-in-law (only initial)  
 /ʃ/—/ʃui/ blood, /ʃuši/ cooked, /khuš/ happy.  
 /s/—/sei/ red, /sust/ lazi, /khas/ important  
 /ʂ/—/ʂoŋi/ floor, /roši/ roasted, /roʂ/ anger  
 /h/—/hapi/ to bring, /duhe/ same, /goh/ hill.  
 /y/—/ya/ mother, /turpya/ bat  
 /w/—/wasi/ sweet, /chwa/ wheat, /jêwar/ grazing to field.  
 (for more examples see Sharma, 1982 : 47-67).

## 2.5. Allophonic Variations

The overall phonetic tendencies of Pattani, may briefly be pointed out as under:

2.5.1. *Incomplete articulation*: Pattani is predominantly a vowel ending and non-plosive consonant ending language, as such there are limited number of vocables ending in a plosive in it. Still, in case of voiced plosives occurring in this position, it has been noticed that their plosion is tremendously reduced, in many cases these are realized as their indeterminate variants, i.e. all voiced plosives are not only realized as their unvoiced counterparts but also become indeterminate, e.g.

/tub/ = [tup] fist, /mod/ = [mot] face, /pêd/ = [pât] paper,  
 /khog/ = [khok] belly.

2.5.2 *Deaspiration* : Occurrence of aspirate consonants in the final position is rare. Even in medial position their aspiration is tremendously reduced when occurring in a non-intervocalic situation, as in /hyuphci/ = [hyupci] to open, /jhobhri/ = [jhobri] enough, /mār̥h/ = [mār] corpse, /goh/ = [go] mountain, hill.

2.5.3. *Aspiration* : Moreover, besides phonemic aspiration the speakers of Pattani (particularly the Swanglas) have a strong tendency to pronounce initial liquids, nasals and the semi-vowel /y/ with copious aspiration. Consequently, they are realized as their aspirate counterparts, as in /l̥he/ tongue, /r̥hu/ father-in-law, /nh̥iza/ twenty, /hy̥oci/ to spend, etc.



2.5.4. *Devoicing*: Voiced consonants are also devoiced when they occur before an unvoiced consonant in conjunctions, as in /yagci/ = [yakci] to lick, /pəd-te/ = [pətte] papers.

2.5.5. *Lengthening*: Plosives occurring as an interlude tend to be lengthened and are variously realized as double consonants, as in /məkkəṛ/ monkey, /sokke/ mid-day, /appel/ when? /bhətte/ all, much, /hyuttā/ clearly, /doththal/ after, next to. In the case of aspirates, the element of aspiration is lost in doubling.

2.5.6. *Tonalization*: The glottal fricative /h/ tends to be realized as high falling tone in a prepausal position, as in /meh/ = /mè/, /goh/ = /gò/ hill, /ah/ = /à/ mouth, beak. In Pattani tone is, however, a non-phonemic feature.

2.5.7. *Palatalization*: Velar consonants occurring with front vowel /e/ tend to be realized as palatalized one, as in /ketri/ = [kyetri] to say, /mecmi/ = [myec-mi] female, /teci/ = [tyeci] to ride, /neci/ = [nyeci] to know.

## 2.6 Consonant clusters

Pattani has quite a good number of vocables containing various types of consonant clusters, but the favourable environments for the occurrence of these are the initial and medial positions only. The final position attests only a few patterns. Moreover, the number of consonants occurring as clusters is confined to two to three only. Clusters of different combinations attested in this language may be presented as under:

2.6.1. *Two member initial clusters*: In this pattern the first member can be a plosive, nasal, trilled or africative, but the second member is invariably a trill or a semi-vowel:

- (i) Plosive + r : /preg/ broom, /phrei/ fat, /brimza/ finger, /bhrim/ eyelid, /trui/ six, /drati/ sickle, /troḍ/ heat, /drug/ rainbow, /kra/ hair, /khriča/ loom, /ghrusu/ lane, etc.
- (ii) Plosive + y : /pya/ bird, /phya/ forehead, /bya/ marriage, /cyakci/ to mix, /kyəṁṁr/ butter, /gyu/ my, /dhyara/ day, etc.

- (iii) *Fricative + y* : /hyaci/ to bring back, /syoni/ a dance by women.
- (iv) *Nasal + y* : (only with /m/) : /myo/ daughter, /myanzi/ to smell.
- (v) *plosive + w* : /twači/ to beg, /dhwā/ so much, /cwači/ to mix, /chwa/ wheat, /čhwa/ tooth, /kwači/ small, /gwakši/ to embrace, /ghwəŋ/ cow.
- (vi) *Nasal + w* : /nwanđri/ to pull (only with /n/).
- (vii) *Trilled + w* : /rwalza/ sleepy, /rwakši/ to graze.

2.6.2. *Three member initial clusters*: The components of three member initial clusters are invariably non-plosives, occurring in a sequence of lateral/nasal + fricative /h/ + semivowel /w/:

- (i) *lh w* — : /lhwəɽ/ courtyard, /lhwər/ ironsmith.
- (ii) *nh w* — /nhwā/ younger brother. It is also attested as /nwā/. (for more examples see Sharma, 1982: 70-72).

2.6.3. *Two member medial clusters*: As compared with initial clusters the range of components of the medial clusters is wider enough. Their distribution is as follows:

- (i) *Plosive + plosive* : /cugči/ to begin, /kəgchəŋ/ shoulder, /šukča/ comb, /mənikči/ to worship, /nisekphi/ to sneeze, /dokthe/ outside, /səkhth/ hard, /təkthe/ on, /tepci/ to burry, /səpɽi/ bark of tree, /kəkɽri/ to trample, /kəkɽhri/ to chop, /dagegphi/ to tremble, /migti/ tears, /dothəl/ after, /nədpə/ sick.
- (ii) *Plosive + liquid, semi-vowel, fricative* : /chokra/ lad, /kukɽi/ hen, /roɽri/ to roast, /uɽrə/ flower, /səndrə/ sea, /potra/ grandson, /ɽapri/ hut, /bəŋəɽhri/ to make, /khəbla/ track, /byəhuthri/ bride, /ədhəɽə/ paralysis, /nəphrət/ hatred, /həpsi/ false, /gwakši/ to embrace, /turpyə/ bat.
- (iii) *Nasal, liquid, fricative + plosive* : /phəmbi/ to fly, /brimza/ ginger, /konza/ foot, /sənda/ rain, /kəŋthi/

necklace, /māṅkə/ frog, /lhinzi/ to melt, /pəltha/ palm, /brelphi/ to slip, /belch/ slippery, /šulzi/ to wash, /borča/ bush, /gārčha/ dancer, /murti/ water source, /zirphi/ to rise, to be born, /cārkhā/ spinning wheel, /tārka/ ear-ring, /tiskər/ thirst, /cust/ clever, /rhuspa/ bone.

- (iv) *Liquid/nasal + nasal* : /cyərni/ check, /pāṇminza/ liver, /tuṇmi/ to drink, /yoṇṇe/ low.

(for more examples see Sharma, 1982: 72-75).

2.6.4. *Three member medial clusters*: Commonly attested patterns of this class of clusters are:

- (i) *Liquid + plosive + semi-vowel* : /turpya/ bat.
- (ii) *Nasal + plosive + liquid* : /toṇḍri/ to hang, /omḍra/ snake, /baṇḍra/ bull.
- (iii) *Nasal + plosive + affricate* : /thāṅgzēd/ barely.
- (iv) *Nasal + plosive + sibilant* : /caṅgse/ white, /taṅgse/ to open.
- (v) *Plosive + plosive + non-plosive* : /ṭrikṭhri/ to chop, /tiglhig/ egg.

Besides, there is at least one example in our data in which the number of componential element of a consonant cluster is four : /tāṇnhyə/ brain.

2.6.5. *Final cluster* : Being predominantly a vowel ending language, Pattani has very few final clusters in the true sense of the word. The only patterns attested in this position are a nasal /liquid + a plosive/ affricate.

/benz/ flute, /cind/ anxiety, /sirph/ only, /cinz/ hoof, /sust/ lazy.

## 2.7. Gemination

Gemination or lengthening of consonants also takes place in certain predictable and unpredictable environment. Gemination becomes significant in the case emphasizing the point

or quality/quantity of the object in question, as in /iča/ one : /ičča/ alone, /ruthe/ good : /rutthe/ better, very good, /kwači/ small : /kwačči/ very small, /lame/ tall, long /la/ : /mme/ very long, etc. Besides, lengthening of consonants is also realized in case of a plosive occurring as an interlude in disyllabic words. (for examples see above).

## 2.8. Supra-Segmental Phonemes

Besides the above described segmental phonemes, Pattani attests the following supra-segmental phonemes as well.

2.8.1. *Nasalization*: Nasalization, in Pattani, is both phonemic and non-phonemic. In a non-phonemic nasalization all vowels occurring with a nasal consonant tend to be nasalized. (for examples see 1.5.3). But the phonemic nasalization is quite independent of any nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel occurring in the vicinity of the vowel in which it is realized, e.g. /tōri/ up, /tāla/ even then, /zā/ gold, /hyuttā/ quickly, /dhōri/ fog, etc. The phonemic aspect of this may be illustrated by following significant pairs.

/kā/ your	/ka/ chest, walnut.
/dā/ wardrobe	/d̄d̄/ pity, compassion
/mē/ without	/me/ fire.
/zoī/ let us go	/zoi/ motion, speed.

2.8.2. *Length/quantity*: There are certain predictable environments in which quantity of a vowel or consonant becomes significant. In this case the normal predictable environment is particularization or intensification of the quality or quantity of an object or action. There the length is perceived in both the vowel as well as the coda margin/ interlude, if it is a plosive/nasal /sibilant, and in the vowel alone, if it is other than these, e.g. /mh̄s/ much, many : /mh̄ss/ too much, too many ; /l̄ča/ one : /ičča/ all alone ; /kwači/ small /kwačči/ very small ; /lame/ long tall : /la : mme/ very long, very tall ; but /thore/ a few, little : /tho:re/ very little, very few, /sule/ slowly, /su : le/ very slowly/, quietly. Besides, there are many instances as well in which length of vowel is attested

as a phonemic feature, as in /ei/ oh : /e:i/ plough (imp.) /oi/ yes : /o:i/ distant, far : /lən/ reply : /lɜ:n/ air.

2.8.3. *Accent*: Pattani, like Dravidian, is a language with prominent accent on the initial syllable, but there are some instances of mono-syllabic words in which the stress, sometimes accompanied with high falling tone, becomes contrastive:

/kà/	chest	:	/ka/	walnut
/si/	furrow	:	/si/	dead
/mè/	fire	:	/me/	without
/rè/	naval	:	/re/	eight

### 3. WORD STRUCTURE

A word in Pattani, may be mono-morphemic or polymorphemic, has the following general characteristics:

- (1) It may begin with any vowel or consonant, but /ŋ/, /ɾ/, /ɾh/, or /l/.
- (2) Normally, a native word ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, a sibilant or a voiced plosive.
- (3) No native word ends in a consonant cluster other than noted above (2.6.5).
- (4) No native word can begin with a consonant cluster other than noted above (2.6.1).
- (5) Normally, no unvoiced/plosive or semi-vowel occurs at the end of a native word.
- (6) In a slow tempo of speech it necessarily admits a momentary pause (*i.e.* external open juncture) on either side of it.

#### 3.1. Syllabic Structure of a Word

As in other languages, in Pattani too, the constituents of a word are syllables, numbering from 1-4, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences

between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept.

### 3.2. Syllabic Units

Constituents of a syllabic unit are a 'nucleus' which is one of the vowels set up for Pattani  $\pm$  consonantal margins occurring on either side of it, which can be simple (a single consonant) or complex (a consonant cluster) permissible in the language. Within the established system of vowels and consonants, there is no restriction on the occurrence of a vowel as a nucleus or a consonant, including clusters, as a margin of a syllabic unit.

### 3.3. Patterns of Syllabic Units

On the basis of the analysis of monosyllabic words it has been found that the permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be one of the following nature. /V/, /VC/, /CV/, /CCV/, /VCC/, /CCVC/, /CVCC/, /CCCVC/, /CCVCC/. These patterns, besides occurring independently in a monosyllabic word, may also become constituent syllables of a word having more than one syllable, *i.e.* dissyllabic or polysyllabic words.

**3.3.1. Monosyllabic Patterns:** In monosyllabic words the pattern of the above mentioned units may be illustrated as under:

/V/ — /á/ mouth, beak.

/VC/ — /um/ waist, /im/ sleep, /ðm/ path.

/CV/ — /ti/ water, /la/ goat, /ðu/ cloud.

/CVC/ — /mug/ snow, /cak/ bamboo, /bhil/ cat.

/CCV/ — /dro/ thigh, /pyà/ bird, /kra/ hair.

/VCC/ — /ðrl/ every where.

/CCVC/ — /bhrim/ eyelid, /mhðs/ many, /gwðŋ/ a belch.

/CVCC/ — /benz/ flute, /sirph/ only, /cinz/ hoof.

/CCCVC/ — /lhwaŋ/ courtyard, /lhwaŋ/ a big cake.

/CCCV/ — /nhwã/ younger brother.

It may be mentioned that in words with more than one syllable these very patterns are repeated in various sequences.

3.3.2. *Dissyllabic Patterns*: The permissible syllabic sequences in a dissyllabic word of Pattani are attested as under:

/CVC-CV/ -- /kurča/ lamb, /sukca/ comb, /khogči/ to find.

/CCVC-CV/ -- /gyulphi/ hiccough, /rhinza/ weaver, /bri-mza/ finger.

/CV-CVC/ -- /dhəḍor/ hollow, /kakəl/ lizard, /phucəñ/ left (side).

/(C)V-CV/ -- /eke/ sun, /bhiti/ wall, /yoci/ easy.

/CCV-CVC/ -- /kyəḁḁr/ butter, /rhagəḁs/ demon.

/CCV-CV/ -- /kwaci/ small, /bhruci/ to wipe.

/CVC-CVC/ -- /khogtoñ/ pregnant, /piskən/ feast.

/(C)VC-CCVC/ -- əndrek/ inside, /tighlig/ egg.

/(C)V-V/ -- /ău/ when, /khui/ dog, /soi/ cold.

/CVC-CCCV/- /təñ-nhyə/ brain

/CCVC-CCV/ -- /khwalḁri/ to feed, /trikṭhri/ to chop.

/CVC-CCV/ -- /turpya/ bat, /omḁra/ snake.

/CCV-V/ -- /ḁreu/ husband's younger brother, /trui/ six.

/CCVC-CVC/ -- /hyuttəñ/ early.

/CCCVC-CV/ -- /ḁrwalzl/ to scatter.

3.3.3. *Trisyllabic Patterns*: The number of trisyllabic lexical words is not very large in it and the permissible sequences of syllabic units are attested as under:

/CVCVCV/-/sokhiṇi/ co-wife, /purika/ ant, /pizure/ square.

/CVCV-V/-/choria/ buttocks, /kakai/ brother's wife (elder).

/(C)V-VCV/-/taṇa/ deaf, /aine/ very, /piuča/ mouse.

- /CVCVC-CV/-/tumunḍo/ first, /rošekṣi/ to be angry.  
 CCV-CV-CCV/-/byḍhuṭhri/ bride, /hyukholki/ evening.  
 /CVC-CV-V/-/tunkhḍi/ inward, /yonkhḍi/ steep.  
 /CCVC-CVC-CV/-/ḍrugdirpi/ thunder.  
 /CVC-CVC-CV/-/pḍnminja/ liver, /loksḍrpi/ to cough.  
 /CVC-CCVC-CV/-/khurbrenza/ thumb/ (of hand).  
 CVC-CV-CVC/-/phḍrpiṭig/ butterfly.  
 /CCVC-CV-CV/-/trḍbbhaḍi/ to whip.  
 /CV-CV-CVC/-/gḍrigol/ coconut.  
 /CV-CVC-CVC/-/khḍtḍrnak/ dangerous.  
 (CVC-CV-CV/-/bḍrcuṛu/ pitcher, /cetroṛi/ a festival.

From the point of frequency the most frequent trisyllabic pattern is /CVCVCCV/ followed by /CVCVCV/ pattern. Other patterns attest only a limited number of examples.

3.3.4. *Quadri-syllabic pattern*: There are a few quadrisyllabic words as well with the syllabic sequences of the following nature.

- /CVCVCVCV/-/phosocḍmi/ proud.  
 /CVVCVCV/-/hausephi/ to cry.  
 /CVCVCVCCCV/-/guṛubḍṅkṣi/ to cowl.

However, in the present data we could not come across any lexical word containing more than four syllables. The number of quadrisyllabic words too is extremely limited.

### 3.4. Syllabic Division

Normally, the syllabic cut occurs at the weakest link between each pair of two successive syllables, determined by linguistic forces like accent (*i.e.* higher stress), quantity of the syllable peak or the patterns of syllables concerned.

In the matter of syllabic groupings, in this language, as in other languages, the vowel is the nucleus (peak) of the syllable,



and consonants preceding or following it are the peripheral or margins. As such, other things being equal in open syllables consonantal onset margins (simple or complex) of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g. in /twači/ to beg, /toči/ to have, the consonants preceding the vowels are grouped with them for the purpose of forming the syllabic unit, and the succeeding consonant goes with the succeeding syllable. Thus in the above examples the syllabic division will be as /twa-či/ and /to-či/ (the dash showing the place of syllabic cut).

But if the interlude, occurring in successive syllables, consists of more than one consonant, excluding semivowels, than the most conventional principle of syllabic division is that the first member of this cluster goes with the previous syllable peak to form its coda margin and the second member is grouped with the succeeding syllable peak to form its onset margin. For instance, in /mig-čəm/ eyebrow and /phug-ča/ hole, the component /-g-/ forms the coda margin of the first syllable and /-č-/ of the second syllable. Similarly, in a pattern like /d̪rwal-zi/ to scatter, /d̪rug-dirpi/ thunder, the syllabic division will follow the above explained principle of grouping of phones to form the syllabic unit and to effect the mechanism of syllabification. (for more details see Sharma, 1982: 81-85).

# GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

## 4. WORD CLASSES

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes found in Pattani are—noun, pronoun, modifier, verb and function words. Normally, as in other languages, in this language, too, words of noun, pronoun and verb class enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to the former classes are variable, *i.e.* are inflectional and those belonging to the latter classes are non-variable or non-inflectional.

### 4.1. Word Formation

In Pattani, a word can be both monomorphemic as well as polymorphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of polymorphemic words are: juxtaposition, prefixation, infixation, suffixation, reduplication, compounding, and replacement. Of these the device of suffixation is the most common, one, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

### 4.2. Noun

Syntactically, a noun in Pattani functions as a subject or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word, referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it takes grammatical categories of number gender and cases, and is also followed by post-positions.

4.2.1. *Noun-classes*: On the basis of gender markers and casal inflection nouns in Pattani can be divided into two

categories, viz. animate and inanimate. The animate class is further divided into human and noun-human groups. As such, we get two different sets of gender differentiating terms for human and noun-human beings. For instance, the term for human male is *gə̀n* (male) and for female is *mec* (female) which are prefixed to epicenic nominal stems to distinguish the sex or the gender of it. Consequently, the epicenic term /mi/ human being becomes /gə̀n-mi/ 'man' when masculine gender is intended and /mec-mi/ 'woman', when feminine gender is intended. In their turn these terms may also serve as gender differentiating terms, as in /gə̀n-kə̀tu/ ~ /gə̀nmi-kə̀tu/ boy (=male child) and /mec-mi kə̀tu/ girl (=female child) from the epicenic term /kə̀tu/ child.

But for non-human animate objects there is another set of terms denoting 'male' and female' sexes. There the term for male is /baza/ and for female /mingna/, e.g. these terms when prefixed to the epicenic terms like /thə̀r/ 'tiger', as in /baza thə̀r/ 'tiger' and /mingna thə̀r/ tigress, denote the masculine and the feminine gender of this species.

Similarly, from the point of casual inflection a distinction of animate and inanimate is clearly maintained. Accordingly, animate nouns are inflected for five cases and inanimate for six cases (see 4.6).

4.2.2. *Nominal stems*: As in many other languages of this group in Pattani, too three kinds of nominal stems are, usually, attested which may be termed as primary, derived and compounded. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, these stems belong to three major linguistic families of this sub-continent, viz. Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic. Besides, there are a number of vocables which have their origin in native dialects of the region.

Primary stems, also serving as components of compound stems, belonging to Tibeto-Burman sources are mostly monomorphemic, e.g. /θm/ path, /ači ~ apu/ sister, /omo/ bear, /kə̀r/ star, /khui/ dog, /mi/ man, /me/ fire, /gun/ winter, /čə̀m/ hair, /čha/ salt, /čhwa/ tooth, /zə̀n/ gold, /ɟu/ cloud, /ɟe/ horn, /thə̀r/ tiger, /nə̀n/ bangle, /pyà/ bird, /turpyà/ bat,

/phug/ cave, /m̄r/ ghee, /kȳm̄r/ butter, /rhūspa/ bone, /lha/ month, /ši/ dead, /ša/ meat, /la/ goat.

Primary stems belonging to other sources are both, mono-morphemic and poly-morphemic, e.g. stems from I.A. sources, /ə̄rkhi/ elbow, /um̄r/ age, /kə̄g/ a crow, /kə̄n̄thi/ necklace, /kə̄mjor/ weak, /kakə̄l/ lizard, /kāne/ blind, /kuk̄i/ hen, /gə̄ppa/ talk, /gāli/ abuse, /ghə̄rbar/ house, /čim̄ta/ tongs, /cucu/ breast of woman, /cor/ thief, /jimidar/ farmer, /jel/ prison, /tāūna/ deaf, /tə̄būlu/ cap, /d̄hol/ drum, /thama/ pillar, /dak̄h/ grapes, /nana/ mother's father, /nani/ mother's mother, /potra/ grandson, /potri/ grand daughter, /bhiti/ wall, etc.

There are a number of stems which either have survived from Austro-Asiatic contact or have local origin. Some of these may be illustrated as follows : /ti/ water, /boti/ butter milk, /pīši/ cat, /d̄hə̄d̄or/ hollow, /trui/ six, /īča/ one /də̄syē/ a festival, /mig-ti/ tears, /lhe/ tongue, /ba~aba/ father, /ya/ mother, /či~chi/ what ? /jūt/ two, /tog/ today, /šei/ red, /khog/ belly, /gə̄/ hill, /t̄ur/ rice, /thūru/ leg, etc.

**4.2.3. Stem Formation:** The normal mechanism of nominal stem formation in it is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding, which may be illustrated as under:

- (1) **Prefixation :** Prefixation is not a very productive mechanism in Pattani. It is attested with regard to a few nouns denoting kin relationship or nouns formed with the help of negative particle /ma/, e.g. /a-či/ sister (non Buddhists), /a-pu/ sister (Buddhists) /a-ne/ father's sister, /māpr̄c̄ə̄/ dumb (Budh.), (one who cannot speak), /mathac̄ə̄/ deaf (one who cannot hear), /maciki/ peculiar (not familiar).

- (2) **Suffixation:** Suffixation is the most common device of stem formation. These suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not. In the latter type of formations, the formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a complex stem to which are added the number and case suffixes. There are a number of formative suffixes attested in it. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

- (i) -ča : /jēlig-ča/ jealous, /jo-ča/ traveller from < /jo/ to move, /pug-ča/ hole < /phug/ cave, /phuča/ threshing floor, /sukča/ comb, etc.
- (ii) -či : /šečči/ shy < /šed/ shame.
- (iii) -cān : /phosocān/ proud < /phoso/ pride.
- (iv) -čha : /gārčha/ dancer < /gārphi/ to dance.  
/brelčha/ slippery < /brelphi/ to slip.  
/prāca/ speaker < /prāi/ to speak.
- (v) -ši : /trikši/ wound < /trikṭhri/ to cut.  
/rokši/ blackness < /roki/ black.
- (vi) -de : /hyañ-de/ oldman < /hyañ/ old.
- (vii) -se : /hyañ-se/ oldman < /hyañ/ old.
- (viii) -si/-zi : /hyañ-si/ ~ /hyañ-zi/ old age.
- (ix) -pa : /nādpā/ sick < /nād/ illness.  
/rhuṣ-pa/ bone < /rhuṣ/ bone.
- (x) -ar : /peṭrar/ begger < /peṭri/ to beg.
- (xi) -sa : /gāgsa/ husband < /gāñ/ male.
- (xii) -cāṭe : /lhei-cāṭe/ yellowness < /lhei/ yellow.  
/soi-cāṭe/ coldness < /soi/ cold  
/šir-cāṭe/ desert < /šir/ sand  
/wā-cāṭe ~ wāca/ jolly < /wās/ laughter.

Besides, there are many Indo-Aryan vocables which follow the I.A. pattern of stem formation, e.g.

- i ; /bhari/ porter < /bhar/ load  
/cori/ theft < /cor/ thief  
/ḍholi/ drummer < /ḍhol/ drum
- baz : /dāgabaz/ deceiver < /dāga/ deceit  
/cal baz/ clever < /cal/ trick

-dar : /cəkidar/ watchman < /cəki/ vigilance  
           /imandar/ honest < /iman/ honesty

-ci : /bəndukçi/ gunner < /bənduk/ gun

(3) *Reduplication*: Reduplication of syllables, nominal stems or formation of echo-words is very much a part of stem formation in Pattani, e.g. /kir-kir/ circle, /cəl-cəl/ round (small) /jəl-jəl/ round (big), /ka-ka/ brother, /de-de/ elder sister, /nana/ grand father, /na-ni/ grand mother, /khəm-khim/ clothes etc. /lhek-lhaki/ exchange, /buṭh-baṭh/ tree etc.

(4) *Compound stems*: The number of compound stems, having both the constituents as free forms, with their independent meanings, is fairly good in it. Both the constituents may be nominal or abjectival + nominal conveying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too behave like primary stems. The following type of compound stems have been obtained.

(i) Noun + noun = Noun

/mig/ eye + /ti/ water = /migti/ tears.

/mig/ eye + /čəm/ hair = /migčəm/ eyebrow.

/yṭma/ honey + /yṭnza/ a fly = /yṭmayṭnza/ bee

/iča/ one + /rəl/ half = /icerəl/ one and a half

/me/ fire + /bug/ /worm/ = /mebug/ glow worm.

/gól/ hill + /yo/ child = /goyo/ snow cock

/tur/ + /pyá/ bird = /turpyá/ bat.

(ii) Adjective + noun = Noun.

/baře/ younger + /ya/ mother = /baya/ aunt

/baře/ younger + /ba/ father = /baba/ uncle.

/moře/ big, elder + /ba/ father = /mořba/ elder uncle.

/sumu/ three + /zure/ side = /sumzur/ triangular.

/pi/ four + /zure/ side = /pizure/ square.

/gðñ/ male + /mi/ human being = /gðnmi/ man.

/meč/ female + /mi/ human being = /mečmi/ woman.

/bo/ — + /ti/ water = /boti/ butter milk.

(iii) Verb + noun = Noun

/zirphi/ to be born + /eke/ sun = /zireke/ east

/rod/ to hide + /eke/ sun = /rodeke/ west

(iv) Noun + verb = Noun

/ḍrug/ snake + /dirpi/ to move = ḍrugdirpi/ thunder, lightning.

(v) Verb + verb = Noun

/tenzi/ to kill + /cumzi/ to beat = /tenzicumzi/ a fight.

/leki-lhaki/ exchange (give and take).

(vi) Adjective + Adjective = Noun

/ṣei/ red + lhei/ yellow = /ṣeilhei/ pomp and show.

#### 4.4. Nominal Inflection

As in other languages of this group, there being no grammatical gender, all nominal stems are inflected for number and case categories only. It being a highly flectional language shows inflection for five cases and three numbers in animate nouns, and for six cases and three numbers in inanimate nouns. In some cases the case and the number markers stand apart from one another, and in others these are fused together, e.g. in /thðrtetu/ 'of tigers' the three elements, viz. stem + number + case (i.e. *thðr* tiger + *te* pl. marker + *tu* genitive marker) are distinctly maintained, but in /kðtutu/ 'boys' the number marker *-re* is amalgamated with the case marker *-tu*.

**4.4.1. Gender:** As pointed out above, Pattani, like other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, does not recognize

any grammatical gender, at least for non-Indo-Aryan vocables. The natural gender which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence is, however, distinguished (i) either by using separate terms for paired groups of males and females, (ii) or by prefixing denotative terms for 'male' and 'female' to the substantive concerned, (iii) or by suffixation.

Morphologically, from the point of gender markers all substantives are divisible into two groups, viz. (i) animate, (ii) inanimate. Inanimates do not have any gender marker whatsoever, on the other hand, though animates can have gender marker terms, yet they attest different behaviour for human and non-human beings in this regard. Which may be explained as under:

(a) In terms relating to human species, their natural gender is indicated by using distinctive terms for their male and female counterparts:

*Masculine**Feminine*

/ba/ father

/ya/ mother

/yo/ son

/myo/ daughter

/gðksa/ husband

/meca/ wife

/baba/ uncle

/baya/ aunt

/meme/ grandfather

/apa/ grandmother

/rhu/ father-in-law

/yug/ mother-in-law

/rhðñ/ horse

/nðbrðñ/ mare

/riča/ male goat

/la/ female goat

/bañdra/ bull

/ghwðñð/cow

/ma/ ewe

/huŕ/ sheep

(b) There are certain animate nominal stems in which masculine and feminine forms are distinguished by prefixing



/gðñmi/ (masc.) and /mecmi/ (fem.) for human beings and /baza/ (masc.) and /mingña/(fem.) for non-human beings.

*Masculine**Feminine*

/gðñmi kətu/	boy	/mecmi kətu/	girl
/baza thðr/	tiger	/mingñathðr/	tigress
/baza khui/	dog	/mingña khui/	bitch
/baza pyá/	a male bird	/mingñapyá/	a female bird

In this type the unqualified term stands for the whole species. In a colloquial speech the qualifying terms are also left out if the gender is clear from the context.

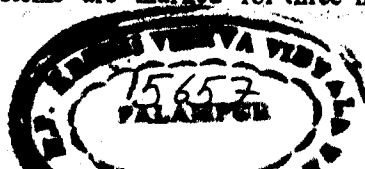
In a few cases the use of Tibetan terms, /-pa/, /-po/, /-pho/ (masc.) and /-ma/, /-mo/ (fem.) is also attested, as in /tol-pho/ a male hyride between curu and yak : /tol-mo/ a female hyride of the same, /pod-pa/ a Tibetan (m.), /pod-ma/ a Tibetan (f.). In a couple of terms the use of /-de/ (m.) and /-ze/ (f.) is also attested, as in /hyande/ old man : /hyanze/ old woman.

(c) Besides the above, Pattani having a high percentage of Indo-Aryan element also follows the Indo-Aryan system of suffixation for gender differentiation, e.g.

*Masculine**Feminine*

/dagu/	grandfather (f. f.)	/dagi/	grand mother
/nana/	mother's father	/nani/	mother's mother
/chokra/	young lad	/chokri/	young lass
/kaka/	brother	/kakai/	brother's wife
/potra/	grandson	/potri/	grand daughter
/mama/	maternal uncle	/mami/	maternal aunt
/bhanij/	sister's son	/bhaniji/	sister's daughter.

4.4.2. *Number*: In Pattani, like Tinani, all nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are marked for three numbers, viz.



Singular, dual and plural. In nouns and pronouns these number markers are kept apart from case suffixes, but in verbal conjugations these are tied up with, person, tense and aspect suffixes.

(1) *Singular*: The singular has only a zero morpheme, as such it is not marked overtly in nominal or pronominal stems. In fact, it is the absence of any number marker that distinguishes it from the other two, e.g. /mi/ man, /kətu/ child.

(2) *Dual*: The invariable dual marker is /-ku/ which in all nominal and pronominal inflections follows the stem and precedes the case suffix, but in a verbal conjugation follows the tense aspect markers. (for examples see 4.6.5.1 and 8.). It is, however, left out if the noun is preceded by the numeral for 'two' as in /juṭ mi/ two men, otherwise /miku/ two men, /khui-ku/ two dogs, /do-ku/ they two, /preg-ku/ two brooms, /kum-ku/ two pillows, /rhəg-ku/ two stones.

(3) *Plural*: Plurality is expressed in two ways, (1) by suffixation, (2) by the use of qualifiers. In the former case different suffixes, conditioned by their phonetic environments, are appended to the nominal or pronominal stems and in the latter case either a numeral, other than one and two, or a qualifier indicating, the sense of all, some, few, many, several, etc. is used with the stem.

Though the dual marker /ku/ is consistent and invariable with all types of stems, but there are four allomorphs for the plural, viz. /re, -te, -ṭe, ze/. Morphologically, these are important for the inflection of various cases of noun/pronoun, because in many cases plural forms serve as bases for case inflection. The distribution of these allomorphs of the direct plural is as under:

- (i) *-re*: It is affixed to all vowel ending, and some nasal ending stems. Stems ending in /h/ too, are treated as vowel ending stems: /mi-re/ men, /khui-re/ dogs, /lhere/ tongues, /rhuṣpa-re/ bones, /tin-re/ nails, /cuṇ-re/ arrows, /ghwəṇare/ cows, /ṣəm-re/ hairs, /petṇ-re/ doors, /do-re/ they.
- (ii) *-te*: The allomorph *-te* occurs with all stems ending in a voiced plosive or a dental nasal or a vibrant: /ləb-

-te/ leaves, /yug-te/ mothers-in-law, /preg-te/ brooms, /pəðd-te/ ~ /pətte/ papers, letters, /kin-te/ wild goats, /thər-te/ tigers.

- (iii) —te : It is a phonetic variant of /-te/, occurring with stems ending in a voiced plosive, usually, preceded by the vibrant /r/ : /krag-te/ = /kəg-te/ crows, /rhəg-te/ stones, /rhig-te/ lice, also /əg-te/ vegetables.
- (iv) —ze : Occurrence of this allomorph is primarily attested with stems ending in the bilabial nasal, /m/, or vibrant /r/, but it is also attested with stems which take -re : /khə̃m-ze/ clothes, /kə̃r-ze/ stars, /rhə̃n-ze/ horses, /kum-ze/ pillows. It is also attested alternately as /kum-re/.

Examples of non-suffixal plurality, indicated by various numeral and others modifiers are as follows : /sumu-mi/ three man=three men, /na kə̃u/ five children, /bhə̃tte khui/ many dog = dogs; /mhə̃s mə̃ch/ many fish.

4.4.3. *Case*: Case is a grammatical category in Pattani and can be established on morpho-syntactic basis. Besides expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also express a relationship between two nouns or a pronoun and noun.

The grammatical relations expressed by these cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, time, etc.

In Pattani the casal relations are expressed (i) either by means of suffixes, affixed to the bare stems of substantives in the singular, and after the number suffixes in the dual and plural, or (ii) by means of post-positions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In some of the cases suffixes are tied up with number suffixes and in others kept apart. Schemetically, all the case suffixes in Pattani may be presented as under :

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Direct	- $\phi$	-ku	-re, -te, $\tau$ e, ze
Acc. Dative	-bi, -pi, -iñ	-kutin	-tiñ
Ag. Erg.	-i(e), zi, $\check{c}$ i, - $\tau$ ri	-kui/ $\check{c}$ ikui/ zikui	-ci
Ablative	-iñ-zi/- $\check{c}$ i	-kuriñ- $\check{z}$ i/ $\check{c}$ i -ku-tiñ-zi	-iñ zi/ / - $\check{c}$ i
Gen.	-u(o), -tu, -zu	-ku, -kutu	-tu
Loc.	- $\phi$ , -iñ, -riñ, -r $\partial$ n	-kuriñ, -ku tiñ	-tiñ, -t $\partial$ n

As pointed out above, these flectional endings are added to the stem or the base of inflection. For this purpose both the categories of substantives, *i.e.* animate and inanimate, can be grouped as vowel ending and consonant ending. In vowel ending stems, the inflectional base is mostly the bare stem itself, but in consonant ending stems it is the direct plural that serves as inflectional base for most of the case forms.

4.4.4. *Syntactic correlations of caseforms:* Various syntactic correlations, expressed by these case forms may be explained as follows:

- (i) *Direct case:* Morphologically, the direct case has no case marker for any number. But syntactically, it is used to indicate the following grammatical relationships.

(i) It is the subject of an intransitive verb:  
/k $\partial$ tu kr $\partial$ pa/ the child is weeping.  
/baya ereg dir  $\partial$ nde/ aunt came here yesterday.  
/m $\partial$ ch tiñ b $\partial$ nzi/ fish live in water.

(ii) Object of transitive verb:  
/gyu dur khui to/ I have a dog.  
/gye  $\phi$ ak cecimi t $\partial$ teg/ I have to write a letter.  
/gye du t $\partial$ nat $\partial$ g/ I saw him.  
/k $\partial$ tui mecmi k $\partial$ tu kh $\partial$ n $\partial$ atu/ boy saw the girl.

(iii) Direct object of a verb having two objects (direct and indirect) /yazi kəʔubi panu rəndra/ mother gives milk to the child.

/gye bababi ɬak cecimi tətəg/ I have to write a letter to uncle.

/rhəñbi sən e ti rəu/ give grass and water to the horse.

(iv) of a predicative noun, referring to a subject/object.

/di giyu ghərbar šud/ this is my house.

/kənu min čhi šud/ what is your name ?

(v) of any word qualifying the subject or the object as in opposition, as in /šeršin, t̤egdar, ruṭhe me šud/ Sher Singh, the contractor, is a good man.

(vi) of direct address or vocation, /sita ! dir əta/ sita ! come here, /kəʔure ! nhacuñi/ children sit down.

(vii) It is also a case of the object of a verbal derivative having the force of a verb as in /panu tuñza im lhəu/ go to sleep, after having drunk milk, /du ñere tanzirəñ krəpti/ she started weeping, as soon as she saw us.

It is also used with a number of postpositions expressing various casual relations, e.g. /khəʔ/ (in acc. case) /du cuñkhəʔi ili/ he went home : /-rə ñ/ (in sociative case) /kə : gerəñ əpota/ you will come with me ; /beči/ (in abl. sense) /nəgər beci o : i/ away from the village, etc.

(2) *Accusative-dative*: Accusative-dative case is the case of indirect object of all the transitive verbs having two objects. From the point of case markers, there is a partial overlapping with locative case markers. The markers of this case are—bi/-pi (sg.), -ku-tiñ (du.) and -tiñ (pl.). In the singular the allomorph -pi occurs with consonant ending stems, -iñ with second person pronoun and -bi with others. Similarly, the plural case marker -tiñ is directly appended to stems ending in vowels, but to the direct plural base in consonant ending stems. Various uses of this case may be illustrated as follows:

## (i) Indirect object of a transitive verb:

/gye kənin ɛa kətab rəmog/ I shall give you a book.

/doi kətu-bi phəl rəndra/ he gives fruit to the child.

/gye-bi yoʃ leki to/ I am feeling hungry (=I am having hunger).

(ii) Subject of the modal verb, *zunši* 'to need', to want,

/dobi kətabəre zunša/ he needs/wants books,

/kənin dur ibi zunši šu/ You should go there.

/gebi ui ti zunši to/ I want some more water.

## (iii) Referant of a past participle :

/dotiñ ilze aňo dhyara šuce ilza/

how many days have passed since he left.

## (3) Casal relationship of subject and object of a trans. verb:

The casal relationship of the subject and the object of a transitive verb is well defined in Pattani, i.e. the subject of all transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, is invariably in the ergative case and the object, both human and non-human in the nominative case:

/gye kə dur təngateg/ I found you there

/gye kətu khəndrateg/ I see the boy/child.

/doči buřhare khəndri-re/ they saw trees.

But in the case of a verb, having more than one object the casal relationship is expressed like this: the subject is placed in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative case, and the direct object, real or logical, viz. a substantive or a verbal noun, in the nominative/direct case:

/bəzi di gyebi rəni~ rənde/ father gave it to me.

/gye kakabi ɔta kuttəg/ I asked elder brother to come.

/doi gye bi zəimi tšəlzi kuři/ he asked me to eat.

/kəi kəno kəři gyebi ɔpel rəmon/ when will you give me your axe?

(4) *Ergative case*: As stated above, the subject of a transitive verb is placed in the ergative case. The special feature of its use as compared with I.A. languages is this that as a subject of a transitive verb it can be used for all temporal categories of past and non-past. It has four allomorphs in the singular, two in the dual and one in the plural. Their distribution may be explained as follows:

(a) *Singular* : /-i, -zi, -či, -tri/

(i) *-i* : It is, normally, attested with stems ending in a vowel, as in /do-i/ he~by him, /kətu-i/ child, by the child, /yo-i/ son, by the son, /ghwəṇa-i/ < /ghwəṇə/ cow, by the cow, /benḍi-i/ /benḍi/ river, by the river, etc.

(ii) *-či* : It occurs with consonant ending stems:  
/thəṛ-či/ tiger, by the tiger, /rhig-či/ louse, by the louse.

(iii) *-zi* : It is attested with both types of stems, as in /mi-zi/ by man, /khui-zi/ by dog, /ba-zi/ by father, /sita-zi/ by Sita, /ya-zi/ mother, by mother, /kum-zi/ pillow, by the pillow, /kəṛ-zi/ star, by the star. In vowel ending stems it occurs with front and unrounded vowels and in consonant ending stems with /m/ and sometimes with /r/.

(iv) *-tri* : Occurrence of this allomorph is attested in a single example which contains /r/ in the onset margin of the stem. /rhəg-tri/ stone, by stone, but in /rhig/ louse, it is attested as /rhig-či/.

(b) *Dual* : /-kui, -čikui, -zikui, -trikui/.

The basic dual ending of this case is /-kui/ which is directly appended to stems, which take *-i* as a case suffix in the singular, as in /kətu-kui/ by two children, /mi-kui/ by two men, /benḍi-kui/ by two rivers.

But in other roots it is appended to the ergative singular form along with the case markers, *-či*, *-zi* and *-tri*, as in /thəṛ-či-kui~thəṛ-zi-kui/ by two tigers, /rhəg-či-kui/ by two stones, /kum-zi-kui/ by two pillows, etc.

(c) *Plural* : /-či/ : The plural marker of this case is /či/ which is directly suffixed to stems ending in a vowel, and to the direct plural forms of the stems ending in a consonant (with exceptions).

/kətu-či/ by children, /miči/ by men, /rhəgte-či/ by stones, /rhigte-či/ by lice, /kumze-či/ by pillows, /khəm-ze-či/ by clothes, but /thārči/ by tigers., /ñeči/ by us, /doči/ by them, etc.

Some of the syntactic uses of this case may be illustrated by the following:

/kətui bəgəd zəwa/ the child is eating food.

/doi rəndra. gye tumteg/ he gives, I drink.

/gənkətuči mecmikəture khəndrere/ boys saw girls.

/khuizi du cikti/ the dog bit him.

/mizi thər səcəto/ man killed tiger.

/thərči mi səcəto/ tiger killed man.

/kətuči bəgəd zəwatore/ boys are eating food.

(5) *Instrumental*: The instrumental aspect is also expressed with the particle /rən/ as in /pyà-re pakh rən phəmbatore/ birds fly with wings.

/doi kərzi buh tikta/ he cuts down the tree with an axe.

/gye omədra rhəgtri rən səcəteg/

I killed snake with a stone.

(6) *Sociative*: The sociative case is expressed with the post-position /rən sathe/, as in

/du eno ba-rən sathe ibimi təto/

he has to go with his father.

/kən-rən sathe ɖi ɖri toi/ who was the another person with you?

*Ablative*: The use of ablative case is limited to nominal stems only. The suffixes employed to express this case are /-zi/ and /-či/ for all the three numbers. Distributionally, the



former occurs after voiced consonants and the latter after voiceless consonants. In fact, in case of a substantive it always follows the locative case. Structurally, the ablative case endings are a combination of locative—*riñ*, *tiñ* etc. + ergative /zi/-*či*/ conveying the literal meaning of 'from within', 'from on', etc. As such it is a compound case and its use is limited to expressions involving the sense of separation, expulsion, issue and other kindred relations, as in /dilli-riñ-zi/ from Delhi, /dor-či/ from there. /buṭha-riñ-zi/ ~ /buṭhatuñ-zi lōbte depatore/ leaves fall from (in, on) the tree.

/goriñ-zi bendi huča/ River flows from the mountain.

/eke zirekiriñ-zi zirpha/ the sun rises from the east.

/kə oči ḍpatəñ/ where are you coming from?

The sense of 'from' is also expressed with particles /post-positions like *derci*, *beci*, *rəñ* etc. (for examples see 4.5 ).

(7) *Genitive*: The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives. In Pattani, as in many other languages of this group, it has a syntactic importance, because it serves as a base for all casual relationships expressed with the help of various post-positions (see 4.5).

In it, genitive suffixes have four allomorphs in the singular, two in the dual and four in the plural. Their distribution may be explained as follows:

(a) *Singular* : /u, tu, ʈu, zu/

(i) — *u*: It is affixed to stems ending in a vowel or in /n/ as in /mi-u/ of man, /benḍi-u/ of river, /ya-u/ of mother, /ba-u/ of father, etc. The stem final /n/ is lengthened before the suffixal /u/, as in /rḥḍñ-ñu/ of the horse. Also a stem final front vowel is developed into a glide before it, as in /kḥuiu/ = /kḥuy-u/ of the dog. /gi-u/ ~ /ge-u/ = /gyu/ my.

(ii) — *tu*: The allomorph /tu/ like the direct allomorph /te/ occurs with all stems ending in a voiced plosive, a dental nasal, or the trilled /r/, as in /tḥḍrtu/ of the

tiger, /pəḍ-tu/ of the paper, /ləḍb-tu/ of the leaf, /kin-tu/ of the wild goat.

- (iii) *-tu* : It is a variant of the allomorph /tu/ and like the direct plural allomorph /te/ occurs with stems ending in a voiced plosive, usually, preceded by *-r-* in the onset margin of it, as in /rhəḡ-tu/ of the stone, /rhig-tu/ of the louse, /preg-tu/ of the broom etc.
- (iv) *-zu* : Like direct plural allomorph /ze/, occurrence of this allomorph too is attested with stems ending in *-m*, as in /kum-zu/ of the pillow.
- (v) *-o* : Besides the above, a genitive marker suffix *-o* also is attested with masculine proper names ending in a consonant, as in /ramo kaka/ Ram's brother, /Mohəno ba/ Mohan's father.

(b) *Dual*: The dual endings of the genitive are:

*-ku* and *-kutu*, directly affixed to the nominal or pronominal stems. The former occurs with stems ending in a vowel (the genitive suffix *-u* being coalesced with the dual suffix *-ku*) as in /kətu-ku/ of two boys, /mi-ku/ of two men, /benḍi-ku/ of two rivers, and the latter with the stems ending in a consonant /thər-kutu/ of two tigers, /rhəḡk-kutu/ of two stones, /kum-kutu ~ kum-zutu/ of two pillows, etc.

(c) *Plural* : /tu, tetu, ʃetu, zetu/

The environments of these plural allomorphs of the genitive case are similar to those explained for singular allomorphs of it, i.e. these correspond with their singular counterparts, /u, tu, tu, zu/ respectively, as in /mi-tu/ of men, /benḍi-tu/ of rivers, /thər-te tu/ of tigers, /rhəḡ-ʃetu of stones, /kumzetu ~ kumretu/ of pillows, etc.

Examples of mutual relationships are: /gyu punza/ my head, /kənu rhetra/ your ear (sg.) /ketu tirare/ your eyes (pl.) /khuyu mekutu/ dog's tail, /dou kətu/ his child.

/di gyu kaka ʃud/ this fellow is my brother.

/du kənu kaka maʃud/ he is not your brother.

(8) *Locative* : Like ablative the use of locative is restricted in Pattani, i.e. it is used with reference to inanimate objects or lower species of animate objects only. Moreover, various time and space oriented relationships of this case are expressed by various post-positions and adverbial phrases. In case of dual and plural the locative markers are identical with the acc.-dative markers, but in the singular the allomorphs are attested as in /riñ, -tiñ, --tiñ, -ziñ, -niñ etc.

From among these the variants *-iñ/-riñ* are attested with stems ending in a vowel, as in /benḍiñ/~benḍiriñ/ in the river, /ti-rin/ in the water, /dilli-rin/ in Delhi, /rhi-rin/ in the field, /soñiñ/ on the ground, etc., and the occurrence of other variants is conditioned by their phonetic environments similar to those described for the occurrence of allophones of direct plural (see. 4.4.2.(3), as in /rhigtiñ/ in, on the louse, /rhəg-tiñ/ in, on the stone, /kum-tin/ in, on the pillow, etc. some of syntactic uses are :

/omo bəṇḍriñ bəṇza/ the bear lives in the forest. /ləoḥ rat-rin cəmkəpha/ the moon shines in the night /benḍiriñ maḥḍre tətore/ There are fishes in the river. /soñiñ nhanču/ sit down on the ground, /troṭe tirin/in the hot water.

However, allocative relations are also expressed with the help of various post-positions, particularly, with reference to animate objects (see 4.5).

#### 4.5. Post-Positions

There are certain indiclinable terms which like case suffixes indicate various casual relations of nouns or pronouns with other words in a syntactic string. These terms, as denoted by their nomanclature invariably follow a substantive, may be inflected or uninflected. In Pattani the Government of various post-positions is attested as under:

- (a) Post-positions which follow an inflected form of a noun or pronoun in the genitive case (all numbers):

- (1) *dorči* 'from' in the sense of ablative case:

/doi benḍi dorči ti həpa/ he brings water from the river.  
/sitazi ramo dorči əm rukthi/ Sita asked way from Ram.

It is also used to convey the sense of 'by' through ; etc. (causative sense)

/gədou dorči rhəgte chanzi lhəog/ I shall make him throw stones.

/ñeci dou dorči mənəgakhtəñ/ we got it through him.

(2) /dur/ 'possession', in the sense of having:

/gyu dur khui to/ I have a dog.

/kako dur kətab to/ younger brother has a book.

It is also used in the locative sense with nouns/ pronouns which otherwise are not inflected for this case:

/pyau dur jan to/ there is life in birds.

/gye kənu dur biswas matəteg/ I have no faith in you.

It also conveys the sense of 'nearness' as in /gyu dur thəcərtu/ don't send to (near) me.

(3) *tokthe* 'on, upon': It denotes surfacessive (on, upon) and supperssive (over) spatial relationship :

/phunzu tokthe topa tod/ there is cap on the head.

tiu tokthe/ on the water, buho tokthe/ over the tree.

It also conveys the sense of 'at', as in

/gye udrəre dou tokthe chəngri/

I throw flowers at him.

(4) *poyəñ*—This indicates the subessive (under, below) spatial relationship.

/kənu kərzi rhəgətu poyəñ thə keu/ don't put your axe under the stone.

/mezo poyəñ/ under the table.

(5) *əndre/ əndeg* 'in, inside': This indicates inessive (with-in, in) relationship :

/zhəg tin əndreg dubhikhpha/ stone sinks in the water.

/əndu: əndeg/ inside the house.

- (6) *punzə rɪn* 'near, by': This indicates addressive relationship as in /*butha bendiu punzərin to*/ The tree is near/by the river.
- (7) *kəɪkən* 'near, by close to, next to, etc.': It conveys the sense of 'nearness, proximity, etc.'

/*nəgər bendiu kəɪkən to*/ The village is near the river.  
 /*du dou kəɪkən nhacato*/ he is sitting close to/next to him.

- (8) *tui* 'in front of': This denotes entensive relationship as in /*gyu tuizi əcha ila*/ get away from in front of me.
- (9) *thəle* 'behind, after'. It expresses postessive relationship, as in /*bhittiu thəle*/ behind the wall, /*sokyəu thəle*/ after lunch—in the afternoon, /*gye kənu thəle lhəteg*/ I followed you.
- (10) *bicən* 'between': This indicates intensive relationship, as in /*gyu e dou bicən*/ between me and him.
- (11) *thəlzi* 'for', in the sense of dative case, as in  
 /*di kənu thəlzi ʒud*/ this is for you.  
 /*gyu thəlzi loča kətab hətə*/ Please bring a book for me.

It is also used with infinitives, as in /*tunmimi thəlzi*/ for drinking, /*zəimi thəlzi*/ for eating, /*doi gebi əpimi thəlzi kuɾi*/ he asked me to come.

- (12) *butte* 'by' (agentive, or passive), as in /*kənu butte*/ by you, /*gyu butte*/ by me, /*kətu butte*/ by children, etc.
- (13) *paɪhi* 'about' : /*nəgəro paɪhi*/ about the village.
- (14) *sathə* : 'near, by' : /*rhəgʈu sathə*/ near/by the stone.
- (15) *ʈəkʈezi* 'from above' : /*rhənzʈu ʈəkʈezi*/ from one above the horse.

(b) Post-positions which follow the nominative base:

- (1) *əɪ* 'with' : /*du-əɪ*/ with him, /*kə-rəɪ*/ with you, /*bə-rəɪ*/ with father.

- (2) *tun* 'on' : /*məkkər buṭa-tun bənzi*/ monkeys live on trees. /*thi-ri-tun ti binē ilzi tōd*/ water is filled on/ in the fields.
- (3) *me* 'without' : /*ti me*/ without water, /*lən-me*/ 'without air'.
- (4) *beči* 'from' : /*nəgər beči oi*/ away from the village.
- (5) *rin-zi* 'from (=in + from)/*buṭha rinzi*/ from the tree. /*kei dilli-rin-zi gi-bi chi hōndən*/ what have you brought for me from Delhi.  
/du nəgərən-zi ḍpa/ he is coming from the village.
- (6) *tun-zi* 'from' (on + from) /*buta-tun-zi*/ from the tree.

The last two examples indicate that more than one post-position can also occur together in it.

#### 4.6. Models of Nominal Inflection

##### (a) *Animate Class* (Human)

/mi/ man.

Case	Sg	du	pl
Direct	mi	mi-ku	mi-re
Acc. dative	mi-bi	mi-kutin	mi-tin
Erg./Ag.	mi-zi	mi-kui/-kuči	mi-či
Abl.	mi-rin-zi	mi-ku-rin-zi	mi-rin-zi
Gen.	mi-u/miyu	mi-ku	mi-tu

##### (b) *Animate Class* (non-human)

/rhig/ louse.

Direct	rhig	rhikku	rhig-te
Acc. dat.	rhippi	rhigku-tin	rhig-te-tin
Erg./Ag.	rhig-či	rhig-či-kui	rhig-te-či
Abl.	rhig-tin-zi	rhig-ku-tin-zi	rhig-te-tin-zi
Gen.	rhig-tu	rhig-ku-tu	rhig-te-tu
Loc.	rhig-tin	rhig-ku-tin	rhig-te-tin

(c) *Inanimate Class*

/kum/ pillow

Direct	kum	kum-ku	kum-re/kum-ze
Acc. dat	kum-bi	kum-ku-tiñ	kum-zetiñ, /re-tiñ/
Erg./Ag	kum-zj	kum-zj-kui	kum-ze-či, /re-či
Abl.	kum-zin-zi	kum-ku-tiñ-zi	kum-ze-tiñ-zi
Gen.	kum-zu	kum-kutu	kum-ze-tu /-re-tu
Loc.	kum-tiñ	kum-ku-tiñ/- kurin	kum-ze-tiñ /-re-tiñ.

## 5. PRONOUN

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object etc. in a syntactic construction.

Morphologically, these too are inflected for all the three numbers, but only for four cases, viz. nom., Acc. /dat., Ag./ Erg., and Genitive.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into five classes, viz. (1) personal, (2) demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) indefinite, (5) reflexive. Of these the pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive class are inflected for all the three numbers, but not others. In this only the duality and the plurality is marked by their respective suffixes, and the singularity is left unmarked.

However, on the basis of their paradigmatic differences these stems form two groups, viz. personal and non-personal. The distinctive features of them are statable in the following terms.

- (1) Paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share the characteristics of the animate nouns, whereas others follow the inanimate patterns.
- (2) The contracted forms of the personal pronouns are represented in the verbal inflections as their subject or object, but not others.

- (3) The first person pronoun has two distinct stems for the dual and plural numbers, one of which indicating inclusion of the addressee and the other exclusion of him/her.
- (4) The second person pronoun has two distinct stems one standing for ordinary use and the other for the honorific use, which others do not have. In the 3rd person, however, the honorific sense, if desirable, can be expressed by using plural form for the singular.
- (5) All non-personal pronouns, in their stem form can function as a modifier to a noun which personal nouns cannot, though in their genitive form these too, can function as pronominal adjectives.

Moreover, from the point of their flectional base the second and the third person pronouns maintain their stem elements constantly in all numbers and cases, whereas in the first person the basic stem is replaced by a different stems in dual and plural numbers.

### 5.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to' and 'the person spoken of'. These represent the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons respectively and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems.

All the above noted dichotomous characteristics of the personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person can be illustrated by the following tables:

#### 1st Person

Case	Sg.	du		pl.	
		Exclusive	Inclusive	exclusive	Inclusive
Direct	gye/ge	ñeku,	hen-gu	ñe-re	hen-ze-/re
Acc. dat.	gye-bi	ñekutin,	hengu tin	ñetin	hen-tin
Erg./Ag.	gy/ge	ñekui	hengui	ñeci	hen-zi
Gen.	giyu/gyu	ñeku	hen-gu	ñee-tu	hen-tu



## 2nd person

Case	Sg.		Du		pl.	
	ord.	honorific	ordinary	honorific	ordinary	honorific
Direct	kā	ken	keku	ken-gu	kere	kyen-re
Acc.— dat.	kānin	kenin	ketutin	kenkutin	ketin	kentin
Erg./Ag.	kāi/	kei/kyeči	kekui	kekui	keči	keči
Gen.	kā	kānu	keku	keku	ketu	kyetu

The third person pronoun /do/ he, is neither represented in verbal forms nor follows the dichotomy of inclusive vs. exclusive or honorific vs. non-honorific. In its inflection, too, it follows the nominal stems, ending in a vowel.

## 5.2. Pronominal Complexities

Being a member of the linguistic group known as pronominalized languages, Pattani attests most of pronominal complexities attested in the languages of this group. With regard to pronominal stems the following types of complexities are noted.

(a) *1st person*: The stem for the first person is /gye~ge/, but it is used for singular forms only. For the exclusive dual and plural it is replaced by /ñe-/ and for inclusive dual, and plural by /hen-/. The semantic distinction of this dichotomy of pronominal uses can be illustrated by the following examples:

**Dual** (Inclusive) : /henggu yōši/ we (you & I) shall go.  
 (Exclusive) : /ñeku yōši/ we (I & someone else) will go.

**Plural** (Incl.) : /henare yōši/ we (including you) will go.  
 (Excl.) /ñere yōši/ we (excluding you) will go.

(b) *2nd person*: In the same way, the second person pronoun has two different stems for 'honorific and non-honorific' expressions. These are *-/kə/* (thou (non-hon.)) and */ken/* (you (hon.)). Both are inflected for all the cases, though this distinction is, primarily, maintained for the singular number only. (see the paradigmatic table), e.g.

*/kə yo āre tod/* where is your son ? (non. hon.)

*/kənu yo āre tod/* where is your son ? (hon.)

(c) *Suffixal representation* : In verbal conjugations personal pronouns are represented in verbal forms in a reduced form as *-g* (1st person) and *-n* (2nd person) and zero (3rd person): e.g. */təhate-g/* I saw, */təhate-n/* you saw, */təhate/* he saw.

### 5.3. Demonstrative Pronouns

3rd person personal pronominal stems also represent the demonstrative pronouns, which are used for pointing out a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In Pattani they are attested as */di/* this (proximate), */do/* he, that (remote, human being), */du/* that (remote, non-human being/thing).

In a syntactic string whether these stems are to be treated as personal pronouns or demonstrative pronouns can be ascertained from the context only, i.e. when there is definite 'pointing out' they are to be taken as demonstrative and when they merely substitute a noun head then they are to be taken as personal pronouns. In a direct communication demonstrative pronouns are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, i.e. pointing out with gestures.

These may be illustrated as under:

*3rd person/ Demonstrative:*

(1) *du/do he/that*

Case.	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	du/do	do-ku	do-re
Acc./Dat.	do-bi	do-ku-ti	do-ti
Agg./Eg.	do-i	do-ku-ti	do-ti
Gen.	do-ku	do-ku/	do-tu
		do-ku-tu	

(ii) *di* this

Nom	di	di-ku	di-re
Acc./dat.	di-bi	di-ku-tiñ	di-tiñ
Ag./Erg.	di-i	di-ku-i	di-či
Gen.	di-u	di-ku/di-ku-tu	di-tu

## 5.4. Postpositional Case Relations of Pronominal Stems

The sense of ablative and locative cases, and sometimes of the dative case as well, is expressed with the help of different postpositions, which are added to the inflected genitive base of the pronoun.

- (i) *Ablative*: It is expressed by compounding the postpositions /dorči/ from, as in /kənu-dosči/ from you, /ggu-dorči/ from me, /dou dorči/ from him/that.

*Locative*: The sense of locative, if at all necessary, is expressed by adding the postposition /dur/ to the inflected genitive base of the pronoun concerned.

/gyu dur/ in me = lit. in my possession/ with me.

/kənu dur/ in you as in /gye kənudur biswas matəteg/ I have no faith in you.

- (ii) *Dative*: The dative case, besides the accusative case forms, is expressed by using the postposition, /thəlzi/ with the inflected genitive base of the pronoun as in /gyu thəlzi/ for me, /kənu thəlzi/ for you, /dou thəlzi/ for him.

## 5.5. Interrogative Pronouns

In Pattani, the interrogative pronominal stems are: /əri/ who? /əu/ which? /čihi/ what? /əur/ where? /əpel/ when? /año/ how much, how many? etc. (some of these overlapping with adverbs and adjectives as well). From among these, /əri/ is inflected for all the four cases for which personal pronouns are inflected, though in the singular number only, as in *əri* who? *ətiñ* to whom? *ətu* whose? *či/čihi* what? But /čihi/ what? shows inflection for agentive only as in /chei/ by which? *əu* is mostly used as in adjective *äre/ärətik* where?

can be followed by postpositions as well, as in /kə ăřătik-či  
əpi leki toton/ where are you coming from?

Also /kənumin či šud/ what is your name?  
/kənu yo ăřătik (ăre) tod/ where is your son?  
/ge ətin kutteg/ to whom did I say?  
/di ətu yo tod/ whose son is this?

### 5.6. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed with interrogative pronouns itself, by adding /la/~/le/ to them, /əřila/ whoever, anyone, /či-la/ anything, /čiči/ whatever, /bətte/~/kul/ all, every, /koire/ some, /mhəs/ many, much.

### 5.7. Relative Pronoun

There are no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually the interrogative pronouns itself are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns as well, as in /malo ăno bəntə  
gye bi pipəd rəu/ In the property whichever is my share  
give it to me, /du kholzi ău sungəre zoatore/ by those husks  
which the swine ate. . . .

Usually it is also expressed by a pause juncture, as in  
/doči či ləzimi taətora, lor/  
they may do, (whatever) they want to do/they like.

### 5.8. Reflexive Pronoun

Reflexive pronouns, which substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun, and which as a rule are the logical object in the sentence, have a full series of them, parallel to the personal pronouns, and are inflected for all numbers and cases as other pronouns. Their paradigms may be presented as follows:

1st person: /ghenə/ myself, my

Case	Sg.	du.	pl.
Direct	ghenə	ghenə-ku	ghenə-re
Acc. dat.	ghenobi	ghenə-kutiŋ	ghenə-tiŋ
Erg./Ag.	ghene	ghenə-kui	ghenə-či
Gen.	gheno	henəgu	ghendu

2nd person: /kenə/ yourself, 'your'

Direct	kenə	kenə-ku	kenə-re
Acc. dat.	kenə-bi	kenə-kutiñ	kenə-tiñ
Erg./Ag.	kene	kenə-kui	kenəci
Gen.	keno	kenəgu	kendu

3rd person: /enə/ himself, his

Direct	enə	ena-ku	enə-re
Acc. dat.	enə-bi	enə-kutiñ	enə-tiñ
Erg./Ag.	ene	enə-kui	enə-ci
Gen.	eno	enə-ku	enə-tu

Their syntactic uses are as under:

/gye ghenabi gha kerig/ I hit myself.

/ñeci ghendu kam lhəoi/ we should do our work.

/doi enabi gha keri/ he hit himself.

/doči enatu kam lhəore/ they should do their work.

(For more examples see Sharma, 1982: 129).

## 6.0 ADJECTIVES

As in other languages, in Pattani, too, adjectives are the vocables which qualify a noun or pronoun or intensify the meaning of another adjective. Structurally, adjectives in it belong to the indeclinable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function they are treated as a separate class of words. However, there is a class of modifiers, known as pronominal adjectives, which belong to the class of words termed as variable, *i.e.* are inflected for number according to the number of the noun head qualified by them, as in /di mi/ this man, /diku miku/ these two men, /dire mi-re/ these men. Similarly, /du mi/ that man, etc.

But all others, that either denote a quality, such as good, bad, black, red, etc.; or quantity such as enough, plenty, etc. or number such as some, few, many, four, five etc. or some state/ condition of an object, such as sad, happy, cold, hot, etc. may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quality, quantity, state or number of the noun

head qualified by them. Morphologically, these belong to non-variable class, i.e. are not inflected for any grammatical category (number, gender, case etc.). e.g. /ica roki khui/ one black dog, /juʃ roki khuiku/ two black dogs, /sumu roki khuire/ three black dogs, /mhəʃ roki khuire/ many black dogs, /kwači mecmi kəʈu/ a small girl, /kwači gəhmi kəʈu/ a small boy.

Some of the commonly used adjectives are:

/moʃe/ big, a large, heavy, /kwači/ small, /phrei/ fat, thick, /chiʃe/ thin, /ruʃhe/ good, /mazi/ bad, /lame/ tall, /rəŋgi/ high, /soi/ cold, /toʃe/ hot, /tihi/ green, blue, /sei/ red, /lhei/ yellow, /cangse/ white, etc.

### 6.1. Formation of Adjectives

Adjectives in Pattani are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are monomorphemic, but derived are poly-morphemic. The adjectives illustrated above are all radical ones. A few examples of the derived adjectives are as under:

- (i) /ti + cəʃe/ wet, /tiskəʃr-cəʃe/ thirsty,
- (ii) /troʃ + re/ /troʃre/ hot,
- (iii) /rog-i/ sick, /dan-i/ generous, etc.

(For more examples, see Sharma, 1982: 133-34).

### 6.2. Placement of Adjectives

As in Indo-Aryan, in Pattani, a qualifier precedes the noun head qualified by it, as in /roki khui/ black dog, /kwači pya/ a small bird, /nəʃd-pa mi/ sick man.

In a noun phrase having more than one adjective the numeral adj. precedes the other, as in /iča roki khui/ one black dog. But in case of an intensifier it is placed immediately before the qualifier, the quality of which is intensified by it, as in /ica mhəʃs roki khui/ a very black dog.

Moreover, in case of a pronominal adjectives it precedes all the other adjectives, as in /gyu iča mhəʃs roki khui/ one of my blackest dogs; /dou gəh-kəʈu/ his male child i.e. son.

Besides, an adjective can also be used as a part of predicate, *e.g.* /di rhəŋ sei tod/ this horse is red one, /du kətu hosiya tod/ that boy is intelligent one; /di pya kwači to/ this bird is small one.

### 6.3. Degrees of Comparison

As is the case with many I.A. and T.B. languages in it too the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object being compared in the nominative case, along with the term /beči/ prepositioned to the modifier, *e.g.*

/ramo kaka dou dorči beči phrei tod/  
Ram's brother is fatter to him (=more fat from)

And in case of comparison among more than two objects *i.e.* the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, *viz.* /mhəts/, /bhətte/ 'of all' is prepositioned to the modifier in question:

/ramo ghərbar ui ghərbar dorči bhətte moře tod/  
Ram's house is the biggest of all other houses.  
/di ruthe to/ this is good, /di beči ruthe to/ this is better=  
more good, /di bhətte ruthe to/ this is best=most good.

### 6.4. Agreement with the Noun Head

As pointed out above, in it no other class of adjectives, except the pronominal adj. show any agreement with the noun head qualified by them. There too, it is confined to the inflection for numbers in the nominative case only (for examples see above). No corresponding forms are used for other cases, *e.g.* /di mi-zi/ by this man, /di-ku mi-ku-či/ by these two men, /di-re mi-re-či~mi-či/ by these men, /di miu/ of this man, /di mi-u thəlz/ for this man, etc.

## 7. NUMERALS

Syntactically, numerals share the position of qualifiers and are, therefore, a subcategory of adjectives. Formal classes of

this class of words are—(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, and (6) Approximatives.

### 7.1. Cardinal

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from one to twenty are as under:

iča	one	səidi	eleven
juṭ	two	səñizi	twelve
sumu	three	šušum	thirteen
pi	four	sə-pi	fourteen
ña	five	sə-ña	fifteen
trui	six	sə-trui	sixteen
nhizi	seven	sañhi	seventeen
re	eight	sə-re	eighteen
ku	nine	səsku	nineteen
sa	ten	ñiza	twenty

From the above it is evident that the numerals from one to ten, are mono-morphemic and from eleven to twenty poly-morphemic which, are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs of the term for ten, as its first component and of those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of twenty the order is reversed, *i.e.* it become as two, ten.

As the other language of T.H. group, this too, follows the vigesimal system, *i.e.* in it the counting of higher numerals is based on twenty. Consequently, 25 is /nizo-na/, 30 /nizo-sa/, 40 /ni-niza/ (2, 20), 50 is /ni-nizo-sa/ (2, 20, 10), 60 is /sum-niza/ (3,20) so on and so forth. The term for hundred is /ra/; consequently 120 is /rac niza/ (100 and 20), 300 is /sumu ra/.

### 7.2. Ordinals

The use of ordinal numbers is not common among people, except for the first three terms which are attested as /tumundo/ first, /dothəl/ second and /sumuthəl/ third. In case of neces-



sity the terms for others can be obtained by suffixing /-thəl/ to the desired numeral, with a linking vowel /-u-/, as in /pi-u-thəl/ forth, /na-u-thəl/ fifth, /trui-thəl/ sixth, /nhizi-u-thəl/ seventh, /re-u-thəl/ 8th, /ku-thəl/ ninth, /sa-u-thəl/ tenth.

### 7.3. Multiplicatives

The multiplicative for 'two fold' is an I.A. loan, viz. /dohra/, but for others the term /phiki/ 'fold', is appended to the number in question, as in /sumu-phiki/ three fold, /pi-phiki/ four fold, etc. The terms for once, twice, thrice, etc. are obtained by adding I.A. term /bazi/ to the desired number as in /iča bazi/ once, /juṭ-bazi/ twice, /sumu-bazi/ thrice, etc.

### 7.4. Aggregatives

This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In Pattani, it is obtained by suffixing /-la/ to the number concerned, as in /juṭ-la/ > /julla/ both, /sumu-la/ > /sumla/ all the three, /na-la/ all the five, etc.

### 7.5. Fractionals

The commonly used fractionals in Pattani are /paw/ one fourth, /rəi/ half, /səwa/ one and a quarter, /ica rəi/ one and a half, /juṭ rəi/ two and a half, etc., terms like one third, two thirds, three fourths, etc. are not used in it.

### 7.6. Approximative

The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numerals placed by the term /se/ 'about', as in /se nami/ about five persons.

Besides, approximative phrases are also formed by using a set of two numerals in a consecutive or a random order, as in,

1. /se nami nismi gənmici du/ kəm nīrəg-pirəktiŋ yoč-tor/  
the work was finished in 2, 4 days by about 5, 7 persons.
2. /se nīṇza-mi nīṇzosa-mi mire am-riṇ kəm lei leki to-tore/  
nearly 40-50 persons are working on the road.
3. /gibi nī-raki pi-raki thəlzi na nizi ṭəŋga rē-čərtu/ give me some 5, 7 rupees for 2, 4 days.

It may be noted here that in approximative expressions if the numerals in question occur as an adjective of the noun 'day' /dhyara/ then the term /rək/~ /rəg/ is appended to each of them and the term for day is left out as in examples No. 1 and 3 above : In example No. 3 the lengthening of vowel and the suffixation of -i is for genitive case. In case of the use of the term /dhyara/ then there is no suffixation of /rəg/.

But on the other hand, if the numeral qualifies a human being then the term /mi/ 'human being', is appended to each of them, as in examples No. 1 and 2. In this the term for man or men as the subject/object occurs independent of this. However, no such an affixation takes place in case of other objects, animate or inanimate.

## 8. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system in Pattani is quite elaborate, rarely met with in any I.A. or T.B. languages of this region, except Tinani and Kinnauri, involving various categories of tenses, moods, numbers and persons in its inflectional system.

### 8.1. Classification of Verb Roots

All the verb roots, except a few loaned from the I.A. stock or derived from nominal or adjectival stems, viz. denominative stems, are primary ones. On the basis of casual forms taken by them for their subjects and objects or on the basis of syntactic distinction of having a second noun/pronoun other than the noun/pronoun serving as its subject, as the legitimate object of the verb concerned and exhibiting a particular case form or standing in a particular position in the sentence, these roots can be grouped as transitive and intransitive.

Besides simple transitive and intransitive verbs, there may be a few others which are called verbs of incomplete predication, i.e. requiring a predicative word, usually, a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /gye yofii totog/ I am hungry, /dou iča khui to/ he has a dog.

### 8.2. Transitivity

As in other languages of this group, in this too, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitives or vice-versa by modifying their stem forms as we find in Indo-Aryan languages like /bEṭh-na/ to sit, /bEṭhana/ to make to sit, /kṛna/ to do, /kṛrana/ to make to do, etc. In these languages rather all roots, transitive or intransitive, are radical ones, e.g.

roṭri	to burn (in trans.)	phārēi	to kindle (trans.)
nhaci	to sit	cace	to make to sit
khōṇḍri	to see	kāṇḍri	to show
dōkphi	to break (intrans.)	thakēi	to break (trans.)
reḍri	to listen	keṭri	to narrate
zēi	to eat	khwalḍri	to feed

### 8.3. Derivative Roots

The commonly derived roots in Pattani are those which belong to the category of demonstrative roots, *i.e.* derived from nominal or adjectival stems, e.g. /roṣ/ anger > /roṣekṣi/ to be angry, /hyṭh/ old > /hyṭh-phi/ to grow old, /mig/ counting > /mig-ēi/ to count.

### 8.4. Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Burman group do not favour the use of compound verbs, yet Pattani, like I.A. is a language in which this aspect of verbal construction is not wanting, though, usually, the number of verbal roots forming a compound verb is two, but combination of three verbal stems too is not rare. In this cluster the first component is the main and the second and the final are subsidiaries or auxiliaries and all grammatical categories are carried by the final subsidiary itself.

In it the most commonly used subsidiary verb roots are:—

/lhēi/ ~ /lei/ to do, /ibi/ to go, /bṭhzi/ to remain,  
/rāṇḍri/ to give, or verb substantive /ṣubi/ to be,

/təči/ to have, to become. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

/kə ərātikči əpi leki toton/ where are you coming from?

/kə əri rukči leki toin/ to whom were you asking for?

/du icca ibi leki toi/ he was coming alone.

/riretuṇ tī bīne ilzi tod/ fields are filled with water.

(=Hindi: *bhār gāye hain*).

/dobi dorči ibi leti/ he had to go from there.

/do/i ibimi totu/ he wanted to go.

/do/i kəm loua ləwatu/ he goes on working.

/gibi ibi raū/ let me go (Hindi *jane do*).

/ge ceki toig/ I remained awakened

/di kəm yurəṇ le keu/ finish this work quickly

(=Hindi: *kār dalo*)

/ge yosi tatəg/ I have finished (Hindi : *khātām kār cuka hū*).

/əpel təce krəpa bəṇzon/ for how long will you go on weeping.

/du japəkke wəpi leki toi/ he continued laughing.

/dore japəkke šasi leki toire/ they had been quarreling for a long time.

Contrary to this the normal tendency of avoiding compound verbal uses, as compared with Hindi, may be seen in the following examples : /gyu kəm tə šui/ my work is done.

Here /šui/ is equivalent to Hindi/hogāya hē/. Similarly, /yəwatə g/ (am) going = Hindi /ja rəha hū/ ; /bəgəd jasi šore/ = Hindi /khana kha cuka hōge/ may have eaten. /joi šoto/ may have eaten (=kha rəha hoga); /jyaṛa šuca/ it is late = (der ho gāi hē) ; /chəcətəg/ am tired = (thək gāya hū) ; /ge yosi tatəg/ I have finished = (khātām kār cuka hū) etc. From the above examples it is clear that in many expressions Pattani employs only one root where in Hindi we find 2-3 roots.

### 8.5. Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The advice of compounding certain nouns and adjectives to certain verbs stems to express a single verbal idea too, is attested

in it, e.g. /behoš šuce ibi/ to become unconscious, /phrei šuče/ t̃əci/ to be fat, /im lhazi/ to sleep (lit. doing sleeping) /čače šuci ibi/ to become hot.

In this type of constructions we notice that the noun or the adjective when combined with the verb stem foregoes its independent meaning and becomes a part of the verb. As such, in this case these nominal or adjectival stems have no grammatical relation with any other word in the sentence.

/doi gebi gali r̃əndra/ he abuses me (=lit. he gives me abuse).

The verbs most frequently, used for such expressions are: /r̃əndri/ to give, /lhei/ to make, to do, /ibi/ to go, /t̃əci/ to have.

### 8.6. Verbal Conjugation

In Pattani, a verb may be conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspects. Normally, a verb in the languages of this group is not conjugated for voice categories, in a colloquial speech there being no structural change for the passive or impersonal voice. However, a verb may undergo structural changes for the negative sub-system, though limited to a few tenses and moods only which will be discussed in relevant sections ahead.

From the point of temporal conjugation too it attests a three way clear distinction only, viz. present, past and future. Consequently, all transitive and intransitive stems can be inflected for these temporal categories, though in a colloquial speech in this too, there is no strict adherence to the distinctive use of present and future, progressive and non-progressive or perfective and non-perfective forms, i.e. in a non-formal speech these are freely used for one another. Moreover, in the present and past tense forms no distinction is made between indefinite and continuous tense forms. There the indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous and habitual tense forms as well, though literal rendering of linguistic expressions from other linguistic disciplines is possible for all aspects involved in it.

## 8.7. Verb Substantive

There are two sets of verb substantive in Pattani, one of them is, *viz.* *šubi* which indicates a general copulative sense and the other, *viz.* */təci/~/toci/* a specific sense of existence or of the aux. 'to have' or 'to become', and is regularly inflected as an aux. for all tenses. The difference in their uses may be seen in the following examples:

*/gye šugə/* I am; */gyu min ram šu/* my name is Ram;  
*/gye dire totog/* I am very much here, */gyu icca riñ tod/*  
 I have a sister. These are similar to Sanskrit roots like  
 $\sqrt{as}$ —to be,  $\sqrt{bhu}$ —to exist, to become,  $\sqrt{vrt}$ —to exist  
 respectively.

Besides, the verb root */təci/* has a dual character, *i.e.* it can occur as an independent verb form and as an auxiliary as well, as in */giyu šumu riñ-re totore/* I have three sisters, but */pyare pakhərən phəmba-tore/* birds fly with wings. */gye yoñi totog/* I am hungry.

As an auxiliary it also conveys the perfective aspect as is conveyed by the English terms have/has etc., as in */gye yoši tətog/* I have finished/ done; */kəi di čhi ləsi totən/* what have you done this?

Its use as an auxiliary to express the progressive aspect also is quite common, as in */kə ərə tikči əpi leki toton/* where are you coming from? */dore kəm ləi leki totore/* they are working=doing work.

All the forms of these verb substantives obtainable for various tenses are as follows:

*/šubi/* to be and */šuci/* to be, to become.

*Present tense*

Person	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
3rd	šu/šud	šuku	šure
2nd	šunə	šuši	šufi (šul)
1st	šugə		

*Past tense*

3rd	šutte/šui	šutteku/šuiiku	šuttere/ šuire
2nd	šuttə̃n	suttə̃ši	suttə̃hi
1st	suttə̃g	"	"

*Future*

3rd	šoto	šotoku	šotore/ šore
2nd	šon	šotoši/šoši	šõhi/šoi
1st	šog	" "	" "

*Imperative*

2nd person	šu	šuši	šũhi
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In the alternate forms of the 3rd singular a semantic difference is attested in their uses, *i.e.* the first form /šu/ indicate a general sense of existence as an aux., whereas the second term /sud/ indicate a sense of definiteness.

/di gyu ghərbar šud/ this is my house.

/kə̃nu min čhi šud~šu/ what is your name?

/kə̃nĩn dor ibi jũši šu/ you should go there or you should have gone there.

Perfective forms of the verb *šuci* are attested as /šui/ or /šuca/ have become, as in

/gyu kə̃m tə̃ šui/ so far as my work is concerned it is done.

/kə̃nu kə̃ mə̃ šui/ (but) your work is not done.

/tə̃či/~toči/ to become, to have

*Present tense*

Person	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd	(tə̃)/to/tod	toto-ku	totore/tore
2nd	toton/tə̃tə̃n	tə̃toši	totõhi/tõhi
1st	tə̃tog/totog	tə̃toši/totoši	/tə̃tõhi/totõhi

*Past tense*

3rd	toi	toiku	toire
2nd	toinə	toiʃi	toiñi/toñi
1st	toig	"	" "

Future tense forms are identical with the forms of the root /ʃubi/.

*Imperative*

Second person	təu (to)	toʃi	toñi (toi)
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From the above given tables it is clear that the inflectional base for all the tenses is the finished form of the 3rd person, singular number to which are added to respective person forms which are as follows:

Person	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd	ϕ	-ku	-re
2nd	-nə	-ʃi	-ñi
1st	-g	-ʃi	-ñi

**8.8. Sub-Systems**

The verbal conjugation of Pattani attests the following types of sub-systems, having their respective conjugational patterns. These are—(1) Affirmative, (2) Negative, (3) Causative. Of these the range of affirmative system is the widest one.

**8.8.1. Affirmative sub-system:** Under affirmative sub-system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood may be presented as under:

**8.8.2. Mechanism of tense formation:** In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes, alongwith number and person markers. As such, the usual order of various constituents in a finite verb form is — root + tense + person and number



suffixes. In some cases the root is partially replaced in the past and future tenses.

**8.8.3. Person-number suffixes:** In Pattani all verbal roots are conjugated for three person and three numbers, though the total number of structurally distinct forms is seven only, (i.e. 3rd person 3 + 2nd person 3 + 1st person 1), for, the dual and the plural formatives of the first and the second persons have merged together in all the tenses and moods.

However, in all the cases these suffixes are appended to the tense and mood markers which follow the inflectional base.

**8.8.4. Subject incorporation:** In this scheme of conjugation the singular person-number markers of the 1st and the 2nd person represent the subject of the verb as well in their reduced forms. Usually, it is /-g/ in the first person and /-n/ in the second person, and the absence of these indicates the 3rd person, e.g. /yoto/ he will go, /yo-n/ thou wilt go, /go-g/ I will go, /lha-ri/ he did, /lha-ri-n/ thou didst, /lha-ri-g/ I did.

## 8.9. Temporal Conjugations

**8.9.1. Present tense:** The present tense of a finite verb in Pattani, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action in progress, which may be, technically, termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character, e.g. /zəwa/ means he eats/ is eating/ is in the habit of eating; /kəi chi zəiton/ what do you eat? /what are you eating?

(1) *Present indefinite:* The inflectional base of the present indefinite is the finished form of 3rd person singular number obtained by replacing the suffixal vowel /-i/ of the infinitive marker with the vowel /-a/, as in /zə/i/ to eat > /zəwa/ he eats, /əpi/ to come > /əpa/ he comes, /lhəi/ to do /lhəwa/ /lha/ he is doing, /rəndri/ to give > /rəndra/ he gives, /dəpi/ to fall > /dəpa/ falls, /bənz/ > /bənza/ he lives, /ketri/ to place, > /ketra/ he places, etc. Different forms of other

numbers and persons are obtained by affixing the tense marker /-to-/ and respective number person suffixes to this inflection base, i.e. to the finished form of the 3rd person singular number are:

Person	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd	-a	-toku	-tore
2nd	-to/-tən	toši/-təši	-toñi/təñi
1st	-tog/-təg	~, ,	~, ,

For instance, /zəwa/ he eats, /zəwa-to-ku/ they (two) eat, /zəwa-to-re/ they eat (for complete sets of examples see tables of model conjugations 8.15).

In Pattani the use of present tense is also attested in the context of immediate future or in the sense of non-obligatory action usually conveyed by 'have to' in English, as in /gye tog baba di ɬak ceɕimi. totog/ I have to write a letter to my uncle today. /kə dir əpel əpon~əpition/ when are you coming here?. /muntəŋ gye gyu cuñriŋ yəwatəg/ tomorrow I am going to my home.

There is no separate conjugation for universal present or habitual action. These are expressed by the forms of the indicative mood, itself. /du aŋlaghəri pərihikpie bəŋza/ he is always busy in studying. /kəʈure yau cucu tuŋma tore/ babies drink mother's milk (of breast).

The periphrastic method of expressing habitual action is attested as present participle plus aux. *toci*, *bəŋzi*, *lhei*, etc. as in /du həmeɕa zəi bəŋza/ he always eats, /he is in the habit of eating every now and then. /doi ɬeçiriŋ-la kəm loua ləwatu/ he works (without break) even in sickness.

(ii) *Present continuous*: Normally, the speakers of Pattani do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, but if absolutely necessary, then it can be expressed with the help of the past participle /leki/ preceded by infinitive form of the main verb and followed by relevant person-number form of the aux. /toçi/~ /təçi/ e.g.

/gye yəwatəg/~/gye ibi leki totog/ I am going,  
 /kə ərə tikəi əpi leki toton/ where are you coming from ?  
 /zəwatore/~/zəi leki totore/ they are eating, /lei leki totore/  
 (they) are doing.

(iii) *Present perfect*: Although present perfect is attested as a distinct category in it, yet in a colloquial speech it is often represented by past indefinite itself, as in /gye məst-čəčətəg/ I am very much tired, /kei gibi chi həndən/ what have you brought for me? /gye kənin khəmze həndəg/ I have brought clothes for you.

But the periphrastic way of expressing a perfective sense is to add an auxiliary like *toči* to have, *ibi* to go, *ketri* to place with relevant personal suffixes, to the conjunctive participle form of the main verb:

/ħeči hendu kəm le ketəñi/ we have done our work.  
 /kəi di či ləsi toton/ what have you done this?  
 /əño dhyara šuce ilza/ many days have passed.  
 /bārcuŋu tika tika šuce ili/ the pitcher has gone to pieces.  
 /gye yosi tətəg~yoce ketəg/ I have finished.

(iv) *Static present*: The sense of static present or traditionally termed as present perfect continuous is expressed through periphrastic constructions by adding the desired form of the auxiliary /təči/ to the conjunctive participle form of the main verb:

/buŋan i kwači pya bəŋza tod/  
 a small bird is seated on the tree.  
 /rirituŋ ti biŋe ilzi tod/  
 water is filled in the fields.

8.9.2. *Past tense*: As in the present tense, various forms of the past tense, too, besides the usual denotation of indefinite and indicative sense, denote an action in progress in the past.

(i) *Past indefinite*: The inflectional base of the past indefinite tense is the third person singular number form which is obtained by replacing the final vowel of the imperative singu-

lar with the past tense marker -ī, as in /əta/ come/ > /ət-i/ (he) came, /il-a/ /go> /il-i/ (he) went, /kuru/ say> /kuṛ-i (he) said, etc. For the inflection of others numbers and persons the respective person-number markers added to this base are as under:

Person	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
3rd	-φ / te	-ku/-teku	-e/tere
2nd	-nə /-tenə	-ṣi/ -teṣi	-ñi/teñi (teṣ)
1st	-gə /-teg	-,,/-,,	-,, ,,

(for examples see model conjugations 8.15.)

As may be evident from the examples given in model conjugations, the past tense stem and for that purpose the imperative stem is different from the stems attested in the present and future tense forms and also in the infinitive form. But the pattern of replacement is not uniform, nor I was able to find out any phonetic or semantic base for it.

Besides the usual first set of person-number markers there are some verb forms in which the use of the second set of person-number markers is also favoured, as in /ili-n/~/ilde-n/ thou didst, /ili-ṣi/~/ildeṣi/ you (2) did, /ili-g/~/ildeg/ I did.

(It may be pointed out that in the second alternate forms the person -number markers are /-ten/, /təsi/ /-təg/ etc., but are realized as /-den/, /desi/, -deg/, etc. under morphophemic conditions).

Similarly, there are some verb roots in which two different bases are operative in the past tense, e.g. /kuṛi~kui/ and /kuttu/ (he said).

Past tense, is also employed to convey the sense of completion of an action in the immediate past or even in the present, usually expressed by present perfect.

/gyu kəm tə/ ʒui/ my work is done.

/kənu kəm mə ʒui/ your work is not done.

(also see present perfect, above).

(ii) *Periphrastic constructions*: The static past or the past perfect continuous is expressed by adding respective past tense

form of the subsidiary verb to the present participle forms of the principal verb, as in /doi ghəḏhikpa ləri, ʔezi zəuwa ləri-ʔi/ he went on cooking and we went on eating. /gye rat pure ceki toig/ I kept awakened for the whole night. /kəi khəmze ʔrətik keʃi toire/ where had you placed the clothes?

/baya ereg der ʔnzitəi/ aunt had come here yesterday. But usually, it is expressed by simple past tense forms as well, as in /baya ereg dir ʔnde/~/əti/ aunt had come here yesterday, /gye lhəttəg/ I did/had done, /keʃi zətteʔi/ you ate/ had eaten, /gye ʔcha ilig/ I went/had gone (=Hindi: *cəla gaya tha*).

(iii) *Past continuous*: Normally, as in the present tense in the past tense too, the indefinite tense forms itself serve the purpose of the continuous as well, as in /du dor ili/ he went there/was going there.

But it can be expressed periphrastically, if specification is necessary, with the employment of the participle /leki/ preceded by the infinitive form of the main verb and followed by respective past tense forms of the aux. /toʃi/ to become, to exist; /kə : ʔri rukʃi leki toin/ to whom were you asking for! /du iʃʃ ibi leki toi/ he was coming alone,

/du juʔ miku ibi leki toiku/ the two persons were coming.

(iv) *Habitual past*: Although as in other cases, in this, too, the speakers prefer to convey the sense of habitual action, as in the present tense, with the use of indefinite tense forms itself, e.g. /du dur ili/ he went/ used to go there, yet if desired it can be expressed with the use of the aux. /toʃi/, following the present participle form of the principle verb:

/ʔere roje dir ʔnza toi/~/toiʔi/ we used to come here daily.

8.9.3. *Future tense*: In Pattani, uses of future tense are varied. Besides denoting the sense of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, its another important

function is to convey the sense of the optative and subjunctive moods as well. Moreover, it also denotes the possibility or condition of an action taking place in future, including the possibility of repetition of a particular action in future, or even a possibility of an action that is supposed to have taken place in the past, as in /du bəgət zəi ʒoto/ he may have taken meals, /doči bəgət zəsi sore/ they may have taken meals, etc.

(i) *Future indefinite*: Normally, the flectional base of the future-tense is the bare root itself, e.g. /rəm-/ < /rənḍri/ to give, /i-/ < /ibi/ to go, /ku-/ < /kuṭri/ to say, /əp-/ < /əpi/ to come, /lhə-/ < /lhəi/ to do.

To this base is affixed the future marker suffix /-o-/ ~ /to/ which in its turn is followed by respective person-number markers. However, verbal roots ending in /-r/ and sometimes in /-n/, also allow an infix /-ph-/ in between the root and the tense marker /-o/, resulting into /-pho-/. The person-number markers affixed to these bases are as under:

	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd person	-to	-to-ku	-to-re
2nd person	-ton/tən/-nə	-tosi/-təsi/-si	tofi/-təfi/-i
1st person	-tog/-təg/-gə	- „ „ „ „ „ „	

*Distribution of allomorphs*: The distribution of these allomorphs is not very clear, still it has been noticed that the longer sets with -to- or -tə- occur with transitive stems and the shorter one with intransitive stems and with stems allowing the infix consonant -ph- for their inflectional base. Although occurrence of these sets in free variation too, is not uncommon, as in /ʒotore~ʒore/ they 'will be, /protog~prog/ I will say, /lhəon~lhəotən/ you (sg.) will be, /kotoŋi~koŋi/ You will say. (also see model conjugation). Various uses of the future may be illustrated as follows:

/čhi pəpon, du rəmog/ whatever you ask, I will give.

/əu yoto du əpoto/ whosoever comes, will go.

/gye bənzi ləpotog/ (perhaps) I may have to stay.

/gye zuṅgə, gye ruṭhe kəm lhəog/ I wish, I should do good deeds, /doči čhi zuṅzatore, du lhatore/ they may do whatever they like, /kə/i kusi son/ you may have said, /du yo-to/ he should go, /doi zəi leki so-to/ he may be eating.

### 8.10. Passive Sub-System

Grammatically, passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer, but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, *i.e.* the doer, but the logical object—the person or thing towards which/whom the action is directed. In view of this the passive voice is, naturally, restricted to transitive verbs only. Like other languages of this group, Pattani does not favour passive constructions. For, in these languages the inherent use of the subject of a transitive verb in the ergative/agentive case is enough to convey the passive sense. Consequently forms like /doi zəwa/ convey the meaning of 'he eats' as well as 'eating is done by him'. As such in these languages all expressions of other languages having a passive structure are rendered with active verb forms and with the subject in the agentive case, for instance, Hindi sentences like *mujh se khaya nāhi jata* (lit. eating is not done by me) are rendered as /gye zəie tərčhimi ma/ I cannot eat. /chi pəpon, du rəmoñi/ whatever you ask, will be given by us (lit. what you will ask, we will give).

The same is the case with impersonal/passive (*bhava vācya*) constructions, *e.g.* /kənu bənzie mərənə/ you will not be able to sit = Hindi — *tum se bEṭha nāhi jayega* (sitting will not be done by you).

However, if necessary, the passive rendering is possible with the help of the post-position /butte/ by, as in —/gyu butte zəimi to/ eating is possible (=will be done) by me. /kənu butte zəimi ma/ eating is not possible by you, /ñetu butte/ by us, /kətu-tu butte/ by children, /ramo butte/ by Ram etc.

### 8.11. Causative Sub-System

Since 'causing something to be done' is an action which must be directed towards somebody, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. As has already been pointed out in the

context of transitivity (8.2) that there is no mechanism for deriving secondary roots from the primary roots, transitive or intransitive in it. Moreover, the languages of this group do not favour the use of second causative at all. The purpose of the first causative also is served by the transitive verbs itself, as in

/qoi kətu dorci kəm ləza/ he got the work done from the child.

It is also expressed by changing the mode of expression as well as in 'he asks the child to do work'.

However, if necessary, the causative form can be obtained by adding the verb *lhəi/lhəzi* to the infinitive form of the verb concerned, e.g. /həpi/ to bring : /həpilhəi/ to ask someone to bring, /lhəzi/ to do : /lhəzi lhəi/ to make to do, to get done, /sulzi/ to wash : /sulzi lhəi/ to get washed. In this the inflectional markers are carried by the latter.

In this regard, the latest trend visible among speakers having acquaintance with I.A. tongues, is to borrow the I.A. causative stems wherever necessary. For instance /tunmi/ to drink : /pilaci/ to make to drink, /həpi/ to bring : /məgəci/ to get through some one, etc.

Besides, in some cases both, primary and the causative stems are borrowed from Hindi, e.g.

/dəbəkphi/ to be pressed : /dəbači/ to press.

/bəcəkphi/ to be saved : /bəcači/ to save.

/hiləkphi/ to move, to swing : /nilači/ to shake.

/pərhəkphi/ to read : /pəraṭhri/ to teach.

### 8.11. Negative Sub-System

In Pattani with regard to negative sub-system structural changes in the verb forms are attested in the future tense forms of finite verbs only. In other tenses, no structural change, whatsoever, is affected by the presence of a negative particle. The negative particles used in Pattani are *mə* and *thə*. Distributionally, the former signifying simple negation, i.e. negation of the presence of anything or action in general, and the latter



signifying prohibition of an action, *i.e.* is used as an imperative negative, as in /thela/ don't go. /doi z̄dwa/ he eats : /doi ma z̄dwa/ he does not eat, /gye ɔtig/ I came : /gye matig/ I did not come.

The examples of structural changes affected by the negative particle are as under:

- /gye k̄ɔniŋ la r̄ɔmog/ I will give to you also.
- /gye dobi prei ma r̄ɔngɔ/ I shall not allow (give) him speak.
- /gye ibi t̄ɔrphog/ I can go/ will be able to go.
- /gye dor yog/ I shall go there.
- /gye dor meg/ I shall not go there.
- /du dir̄ɔpoto/ he can come here.
- /du k̄ɔdila dir̄ ɔpi m̄ɔrtu/ he can never come here.

### 8.13. Moods and Aspects

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal stems for particular mood or mental states of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

8.13.1. *Model conjugation*: Model conjugation deals with the inflection forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition, etc. The three types of moods which are normally attested in Tibeto-Himalayan languages are—Indicative. Imperative and Subjective, with further divisions and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative mood have already been discussed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the other two.

8.13.2. *Imperative mood*: Imperative mood is a form of verb expressing an action as an order, a polite command or a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In these cases the subject is always the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is usually left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and the future times only. But in Pattani its use is mostly confined to the present time only.

The suffixes of this mood are: —u/—a (sg.): —uṣi —aṣi (du.): —uñi (-uī) —añi (aī) (pl.).

8.13.2.1 *Inflectional base and distribution of allomorphs:* The above given imperative markers are added to the inflectional base which is identical with the inflectional base of the past tense for which no predictable rules could be formulated, e.g. /ibi/ to go > /ila/ go. /həpi/ to bring > /həta/ bring. /rəndri/ to give > /rəū/ give. /kuṛi/ to say > /kuṛu/ say, etc.

Similarly, the phonetic environments for the distribution of the above noted two sets of imperative suffixes too, are not very clear. Moreover, in some cases both these sets have mixed up. (See Sharma : 1982 : 145). The syntactic use of these may be illustrated as follows:

/cəsu kənin la rəmog/ wait ! I shall give to you also  
 /der ənze, to/ having come here, sit down.  
 /gibi ibi rəū/ let me go.  
 /di kəm lhe keu/ do this work (=H. kər dalo).

The suggestive imperative sense is also conveyed by simple imperative form in it:

/jo, phwa tukha yoñi/ come, let us go a little ahead.

8.13.2.2. *Prohibitive Imperative:* The prohibitive imperative is formed with the negative particle /thə/, with necessary morphophonemic adjustments, prefixed to the adjoining imperative forms of the verb concerned, as in /thə nhacu/ don't sit, /thela/ (=thə + ila) don't go, /thada/ (=thə + ə/ta) don't come. But in an emphatic prohibitive, the prohibitive negative may be placed at the end as well.

/mutan der əpi peṣu thə/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

In case of compound verbs the imperative suffixes are appended to the auxiliary:

/di der-e bənzī rəū/ let it remain here (H. rəhne do).  
 /gyebi ibi rəū/ let me go (Hindi — jane do).  
 /di kəm lhe keu/ do this work (Hindi — kər dalo).

**8.13.3. Subjunctive mood:** The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, permission, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition, etc. For a broader analysis all these states can be grouped into the following 4 groups.

(i) *Optative*: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirement, purpose, supposition or possibility, almost always with an implied reference to future: In this the sense of advisability, desirability or obligation is expressed with the *sux.* /zuñsi/ to wish, to desire, literally standing for the semantic connotation of 'is necessary', 'ought to be', 'is desirable' etc.

/kəniñ dore ibi zuñsi šu/ you ought to go there.

/dobi der əpi zuñsi šud/ he should have come here, i.e. it was advisable for him to come here.

But in a normal course all shades of desirability or possibility are expressed with simple future tense forms.

/doi ena kəm lhəuto/ he should/ may do his own work

/doči enači kəm lhəore/ they should/ may do their own work

/mutəñ du der əpoto/ tomorrow he may come here.

/kəi kusi šon/ you may have said.

/doči chi ləzimi tətora, lor/ they may do whatever they like.

The formative suffixes of the interrogative subjunctive or first person permissive aspect are—ga /kha/ka (sg.): —sia (du.) and —nia/ia (pl.) which are affixed to the bare root of the verb concerned: e.g. /i-bi/ to go > /i-ga/ may/should I go?, /əka/ may/should I come?, /išia/ may we (2) go; /iñia/~iia/ may we go? /dobi gye kuga/ may/should I tell him?, /dorči gye sukha/ should I ask him?. The negative of this aspect is formed with the negative particle /thə/, as in /thega/ (=thə +iga/ should I not go?)

The permissible aspect for other persons is expressed with simple imperative forms, as in /dozi či ləzimi tətora, lor/ they may do, whatever they like. (=they do, what they will like).

(ii) *Potential*: The potential or presumptive aspect of the subjunctive, primarily denotes possibility of the occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. These are formed by appending respective future tense forms of the verb substantive to the present or past participle forms of the main verb:

/du endeg bāgāt zāi šoto/ he may be taking food.

/doči bāgāt zāši šore/ they may have taken food.

/kāi kusi šon/ you may have said.

(iii) *Contingent*: The contingent or conditional mood is a non-flectional category, mainly denoting a condition which is contrary to fact. It may also express a wish which cannot be fulfilled. In this the subordinate clause takes the present or the past participle suffixes and the principal verb is placed in the past tense along with the conditional suffixes which are -a/-ka/-ga (sg.) : -šika (du.) : -ñika/ -ika (pl.) /kə ənzəñ tə gye-la ətig-ka/ had you come, I would have accompanied you.

/du ənzi šucəñ tə ruṭhe šui-ka/

had he come, so nice it would have been.

/dore ilzəñ ñere-la ili-ka/

had they gone, we would also have gone.

However, a condition expressing the fulfilment of the action in future is expressed with absolute future forms in both the clauses:

/aṇe kə: əpon, gye-la əpog/ If you (sg.) come, I will also come.

/aṇe dore yotore, du la yoto/ If they go, he will also go.

(iv) *Desiderative*: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /tərci/ added to the infinitive form of the main verb.

/gye ibimi tətəg~təṛəg/ I want to go.

/doi əpimi təre~totu/ he wanted to come.

/gye i ruṭhe kəṁ ləzimi tətəg/ I want to do a good work.

The verb /t̪ər̪ci/, besides the above, expresses the sense of obligation resting on the speaker as well:

/du eno ba r̪ə̃n sathe ibimi t̪ətu/

he has to go with his father.

/gye bababi dak cečimi t̪ət̪əg/

I have to write a letter to my uncle.

(v) *Compulsive*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed with the verb /leci/ to place. In this too the main verb is placed in the infinitive form:

/dobi ereg dir əpi leti/

he had to come here yesterday.

/gibi la ibi lepoto/

I will also have to go.

/dobi ph̪əss̪ə ibi leti/

he had to go all of a sudden.

(vi) *Abilitative*: The ability or inability of a doer in respect of an action is expressed with the verb /t̪ər̪chi/ can, to be capable of, etc. added to the verbal noun form of the main verb:

Its negative root is /m̪ər̪chi/ cannot.

/gye ibimi t̪ərig/ I can go/ I am capable of going.

/k̪ənu b̪ə̃nz̪ie t̪ər̪chimi ma/ you are incapable of sitting.

/k̪əi joie m̪ər̪-ə̃n/ you shall not be able to walk.

/du k̪ədila der əpi m̪ər̪-tu/ he can never come here.

(vii) *Inceptive*: We could not collect proper data for the inceptive aspect in it. The only example is as follows:

/du henre t̪ə̃nz̪ir̪ə̃n sathe k̪ər̪pi t̪ə̃r̪iǧ̪iri/

She started weeping on seeing us.

But alternately, we also get the indefinite past tense form in its place as /du kr̪ə̃pt̪i/ She wept.

## 8.14. Verbal Derivatives

Besides the regular finite forms which are the essential constituents of the predicate, and regularly take the tense, person-number suffixes, there are also some verbal elements which are derived for the grammatical categories of a finite verb. These non-finite verb forms, on account of conveying an incomplete sense, do not serve independently as a predicate in a sentence. In Pattani their formations are attested as under:

8.14.1. *Infinitives*: "Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject." It is obtained by suffixing the infinitive marker to the verb root. In Pattani the formative suffixes attested in this context are -pi, -bi, -či, -zi, -i, -tri, -dri, θri, -čhi, -ši, -mi. However, in this the phonetic environments favouring their occurrences are not very clear. There are many environments in which occurrence of more than one formative is attested. These may be illustrated as follows:

- (i) /-či/ : It is the most common formative which is attested with all types of verbal roots, as in  
 /thakči/ to break, /phārči/ to burn, /nhači/ to sit,  
 /ceči/ to write, /twači/ to beg, /yagči/ to lick, etc.
- (ii) —/-čhi/ : It is an aspirate counterpart of /-či/ and the environments of its occurrence are similar to that attested in /-či/, e.g. /tθrčhi/ can/ mārčhi/ cannot,  
 /cəkkčhi/ to wash, /cugčhi/ to suckle, /sokčhi/ to drag,  
 /əčhi/ to get up.
- (iii) /-zi/ : It is voiced counterpart of /či/ e.g. /lhazi/ to do,  
 /chan-zi/ to throw, /šuilzi/ to wash, /d̥rwal-zi/ to scatter,  
 /ton-zi/ to hide, /pron-zi/ to wommit.
- (iv) /-pi/ : It usually occurs with roots ending in /ə/ /hə-pi/ to bring, /əpi/ to come, /d̥ə-pi/ to fall, /wəpi/ to laugh,  
 /krəpi/ to weep.
- (v) /-phi/ : An aspirate counterpart of /-pi/, occurring with certain consonants: /d̥əgphi/ to be broken, /hyənp̪hi/

to grow old, /gəɾ-phi/ to dance, /pəɾhəɸk-phi/ to read, /dəbəɸk-phi/ to be pressed.

- (vi) /-bi/ : This is a voiced counterpart of /-pi/ and is attested with stems ending in a vowel and nasal consonant : /i-bi/ to come, /ʃu-bi/ to be, /phəm-bi/ to fly.
- (vii) /-mi/ It is attested with a few roots ending in a velar nasal : /tuŋ-mi/ to drink, /gəŋ-mi/ to swell.
- (viii) /-ɾi/ : It also occurs mostly with roots ending in a vowel : /roɾi/ to roast, /ku-ɾi/ to say, /keɾi/ to place, /pe-ɾi/ to beg.
- (ix) /θri/ : It is an aspirate counterpart of /-ɾi/ and its occurrence is extremely limited in the language: /bəpəθri/ to make.
- (x) /-ɸri/ : It is a voiced counterpart of /ɾi/, and like /-ɾi/ is quite common : /khəŋ-ɸri/ to see, /kəŋ-ɸri/ to show, /re-ɸri/ to listen, /rəŋ-ɸri/ to give, /koŋ-ɸri/ to bend, /khwəl-ɸri/ to feed.
- (xi) /-i/ : It is also attested with roots ending in a vowel: /zə-i/ to eat, /lhə-i/ to do, /prə-i/ to speak, /jo-i/ to walk, /do-i/ to meet.
- (xii) /-si/ : In this case it is not clear whether the real formative suffix is /-kʃi/ or /-ʃi/, because it is invariably attested in a cluster like /-kʃ-/ : /roʃekʃi/ to be angry, /gurubəŋ-kʃi/ to cowl, /rwəkʃi/ to graze, /cwəkʃi/ to scatter.

8.14.1.1. *Infinitive used as a verbal nouns*: An infinitive can be used as a verbal noun, and as such like a noun it takes postpositions also to express the meaning of acc.-dative case, viz. /riŋ/ 'for, for the purpose of, or in order to,' etc. e.g.

/gye pəɾhipphiriŋ yog/ I shall go for studying,  
 /du ti tuŋmi-riŋ əti/ he came for drinking water,  
 /du kuŋiŋ khəndri-riŋ ənza/ he has come here with the purpose of seeing you/ in order to see you /ɬur ghəɾhikci-riŋ ɬur zunaɪ toɸ/ rice is needed to prepare cooked rice (bhat).

Besides, as a verbal noun it can function as a complement or an object to a finite verb form as well.

/dobi der əpi zunʃi ʃud/ he should come here.

/kəniŋ dor ibi zunʃi ʃud/ you should go there.

/dobi phōssa derči ibi leti/ he had to go from here all of a sudden.

/dobi ɛreg dor əpi leti/ he had to come here yesterday.

/kəfu ti tuŋ-mi ət̪i/ the boy came to drink water.

/gyu dobi khənd̪ri madig/ I did not come to see him.

8.14.2. *Verbal noun*: A verbal noun which usually has the force of a logical object or complement of a verb or has a semantic correlation with an acc.—dative case, is formed by adding /-mi/ to the infinitive base of the verb concerned, though the infinitive alone, too, has the same force. Like infinitive, when used as a verbal noun, it can also be followed by the postposition /-thəlzi/ 'for'.

/gye prəi-mi tət̪əg/ I want to speak.

/ñeci dobi zəi-mi thəlzi kuttəñi/ we asked him for eating.

/dobi gyebi ibi-mi thəlzi kuttere/ they asked me to go.

The verbal noun, in spite of functioning as a noun, retains its verbal character as well, and as such can take an object or complement.

/gye phəl zəimi tət̪əg/ I want to eat a fruit.

/doi panu tuŋmimi totu/ he wanted to drink milk.

(for more examples, see Sharma, 1982 : 151).

8.14.3. *Participles*. Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun (or pronoun), but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in Pattani, viz. present and past. But contrary to I.A. languages, the participles in Tibeto-Himalayan languages are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun/pronoun qualified by them.

(1) *Present participle*: In Pattani, a number of formatives are affixed to verbal roots to form their present participle.



Some of these are as under:

- (i) /-a, -ca, -cha, -za/ : These forms are identical with conjunctive participle, but are used as present participle, as well, e.g. /phənza pya/ a flying bird < /phəmbi/ to fly, /zər̥k rən̥dra kətu/ a running boy < /rən̥dri/ to give, /cəlekčha ti/ running/ flowing water, /dəca buθə/ a falling tree, etc.
- (ii) /-ta, -da/ : The function of this suffix is that of a modifier indicating the state of some action taking place simultaneously while some other action also is in progress, as in /du zətta im lhari/ he went to sleep while eating < /zəi/ to eat, /pya phənda oi ili/ the bird went far away, in the process of flying, /du gye khəṇḍa zər̥k rən̥i/ he ran away as soon as I saw him.

The concurrent action is also expressed by reduplicated forms of it:

/du zəza zəza ili/ he went away while still eating,  
 /gye kəm lətta lətta chyachya təg/ I am tired of continuous working.  
 /im lhaza lhaza kuttu/ he said, while he was still sleeping.

- (iii) /-a, -ma, -pa/ : The function of these variants is to indicate the processive or continuative aspect of the verb, as in /gye tuṇma lharig/ I continued drinking, /dore prəwa kesire/ they continued talking, /doi ghəṛhik-pa ləri, ṇeci zəua ləriṇi/ they continued cooking, (and) we continued eating, /dou təciriṇ-la kəm lhəwa ihəwatu/ he goes on working even when he is ill. (for distribution of these allomorphs, see Sharma, 1982 : 150).

(i) *Past/Perfect participle*: Like present participle the past participle or the past perfect participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify a noun. Contrary to the present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In Pattani it is obtained by suffixing /-či, -ši, -zi/ to the bare root of the verb con-

cerned, e.g. /d̥ə-či/ fallen < /d̥ə-pi/ to fall, /z̥əši/ eaten > /z̥əi/ to eat, /roši/ roasted < /rotri/ to roast, /khāsi/ seen < /khāndri/ to see, /ceši/ written < /c̥ə/či/ to write, etc., as in

/ši om̥dra/ a dead snake, /ceši p̥əd/ a written letter,  
/minzi ph̥əl/ a ripe fruit. /d̥əksi bu̥h/ a broken trees,  
/kar̥či sin/ dried wood.

In temporal constructions, involving perfective aspect too the principal verb is placed in the perfect participle:

/du ti hapi ilzi to/ he has gone to bring water.  
/gyu ba scro th̥əlzi ilzi/ my father has gone for a walk.  
/i̥ča mi dir nhaca to/ a man is seated here,  
/gye ɛnzi šug̊ə/ I have come, /k̊əi z̥əši šon/ you may have eaten, /gye lh̥əši šog/ I may have done.

(ii) *Conjunctive Participle*: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it, remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In Pattani it is obtained by suffixing /-za, -zi, ze, -c/ to the verb root:

/der ɛnzi, nhḁču/ having come here, sit down.  
/panu tu̥n-za im lh̥əu/ after having taken milk, go to bed.  
/b̥əg̊ət z̥əe ila/ go, having taken food.  
/du ze (> z̥əe) ze phrei šuce tod/  
he, having eaten again and again, has become fat.

(iv) *Adverbial participle*: There are certain types of verbal derivatives which in a way modify the action of the finite verb in the sentence. In this analysis these derivatives have been designated as adverbial participles. The most important of these is the expression of simultaneity of two actions.

/du tu̥n-mir̥ən (sathe) ili/ He left as soon as he drank.  
/du ph̥əmbir̥ən d̥əti/ no sooner did it fly, it fell down.

/du ñetin khəndri-rəñ sathe krəpi/

she wept as soon as she show us.

/bərcuŋu guŋin-zi dəpi-rəñ sathe dəksi ili/

the pitcher went to pieces, as soon as it fell down from the hand.

## 8 15. Some Model Conjugations

/əpi/ to come

<i>Present tense</i>	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd person	əpa	əpatoku	əpa-tore
2nd person	əpatən/-ton	əpatəşi	əpatəñi
1st person	əpatəg/-tog	əpatoşi	əpatoñi
<i>Past tense</i>			
3rd person	əti	ətiku	ətire
2nd person	ətin	ətişi	ətiñi (ətiŋ)
1st person	ətig	„	„
<i>Future tense</i>			
3rd person	əpato	əpotoku	əpotore
2nd person	əpon/əpoton	əpotoşi	əpotoñi
1st person	əpog/əpotog	„	„
<i>Subjunctive</i>			
1st person	əka	əšia	əñia (əia)
<i>Prohibitive</i>			
2nd person	thada	thadaşi	thadañi
	/ibi/ to go		

<i>Present tense</i>			
3rd person	yəwa	yəwatoku	yəwatore
2nd person	yəwatən	yəwatəşi	yəwatəñi
1st person	yəwatəg	„	„
<i>Past tense</i>			
3rd person	ili	iliku	ilire
2nd person	ilədən/ilin	ilədeşi/ilishi	ilədeñi/ilinñi
1st person	ilədeg/ilig	„ „	„ „

*Future tense*

3rd person	yoto	yotoku	yotore
2nd person	yon	yoši	yofhi
3rd person	yog	„	„
<i>Imperative</i>	ila	ilaši	ilañi (ilai)
<i>Prohibitive</i>	thela	thelaši	thelañi
<i>Subjunctive</i>	iga	ilšia	ilīa (iia)

\*/lhəi/ to do

<i>Present tense</i>	Sg.	du	pl
Present tense	lha	lhatoku	lhatore
2nd person	lhatən	lhatəši	lhatəñi
1st person	lhatəg	„	„

*Past tense*

3rd person	lhari	lhariku	lharire
2nd person	lharinə	lhariši	lhariñi
1st person	lharig	„	„

*Future tense*

3rd person	lhəoto	lhəotoku	lhəotore
2nd person	lhəon/ lhəotən	lhəoši/ lhəotoši	lhəoñi/ lhəotoñi
1st person	lhəog/ləotog	„	„

<i>Imperative (2nd)</i>	lhəu	lhaši	lhañi (lhai)
<i>Prohibitive „</i>	thəlhəu	thəlhasi	thəlhəñi
<i>Subjunctive (1st)</i>	lhaga	lhašia	lhañia

/rəndri/ to give

*Present tense*

3rd person	rəndra	rəndratoku	rəndratore
2nd person	rəndratən	rəndratəši	rəndratəñi
1st person	rəndratəg	„	„

*Past tense*

3rd person	rəpi/rəi	rəpiku/rəku	rəpire/rəire
2nd person	rəpin/rəndən	rəpiši/ rəndeši	rəpiñi/rəndeñi

1st person	rēnig/rēndeg „		
<i>Future tense</i>			
3rd person	rēmoto	rēmotoku	rēmotore
2nd person	rēmonə	rēmoši	rēmoñi
1st person	rēmog	„	„
<i>Imperative (2nd)</i>	rēū	rāši	rāñi (rāi)
<i>Prohibitive (2nd)</i>	thəṛēū	thəṛāši	thəṛāñi
<i>Subjunctive (1st)</i>	rēnga	rēšiā	rēñiā (rēiā)

(for more examples see Sharma, 1982: 152-159).

## 9. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They all are termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as adverbs, particles conjunctions, interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables, as attested in Pattani, are as follows:

### 9.1. Adverb

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restrict it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in the string of components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation.

Semantically, all these verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) spatial or adverbs of place and direction, (2) temporal or adverbs of time, (3) modal or adverbs of manner, (4) intensifiers or adverbs of degree. All classes of adverbs have basic and derived categories. Some of them which are commonly used in Pattani may be presented as under:

**9.1.1. Formation of Adverbs:** Adverbs in Pattani are both, monomorphemic and poly-morphemic, though analysis of all the constituents of polymorphemic adverbs is not easily

possible. The most commonly used additive elements to indicate various adverbial notions are as under:

- (i) *—/khəi/* : It indicates the direction of the action in question, as in */di-khəi/* to this side, */do-khəi/* to that side, *(aū-khəi/* to which side?, */yo-khəi/* downwards, */toriñ-khəi/* upwards, */thəle-khəi/* backwards etc.
- (ii) */-r/* : It is added to demonstrative and interrogative pronominal stems to form adverb of place, indicative of definite point of nearness, remoteness and relativity: */di-r/* here, */du-r/* there, */āu-r/* where?
- (iii) */-či/* : Added to adverbs of place to indicate point of departure */der-či/* from here */dorči/* from there, */āu-či/* where from?
- (iv) */-ghəri/* : It is added to pronominal stems to indicate point of time, i.e. to form adv. of time, as in */āu ghəri/* when? */tumunḍo ghəri/* once < */tumunḍo/* first, */di-ghəri/* now, this time, */du-ghəri/* then.
- (v) */-bazi/* : It is added to numerals to indicate frequency of time, as in */iča-bazi/* once, */juṭ-bazi/* twice, */šumu-bazi/* thrice, etc.
- (vi) */-tha/* : It is added to pronominal and verbal bases to indicate the point of time of the occurrence of an action. */do-t-tha/* at that time, */prə-t-tha/* at the time of speaking.
- (vii) */-rəñ (sathe)/* : It is usually added to loan words to convey an adverbial sense, as in */ḍhəñ-rəñ sathe/* in a good manner, properly, */dhūm-rəñ sathe/* with pump and show, etc.
- (viii) */-mi/* : It is added to verbal stems to form adverb of time, as in */zərk-rəñḍrimi/* about to run, */chwa-rəñḍrimi/* about to jump.

9.1.2. *Adverb of place*: Besides the above noted types of polymorphemic adverbs of place or direction, some other commonly used adverb of this class are:

/toŋ/ inside, under, /kəchəŋ/ near, close to, /punzəriŋ/ by, /tui-zi/ in front of, /thəle/ behind, outside.

9.1.3. *Adverb of time*: A few more temporal adverbs which do not fall in any specific pattern are: /tog/ today, /mutaŋ/ tomorrow, /ereg~erek/ yesterday, /tura~turaŋ/ day before yesterday, /hyura~hyuraŋ/ day after tomorrow, /hyəča/ again, /tui-e/ already, before hand, /təči/ till, /khrae/ late, /əpil/ when, /na~nha/ now, now-a-days, /appel/ never, /ende/ just now, /tohi/ once upon a time.

9.1.4. *Adverb of manner*: The commonly used adverb of this class are—/ruŋhe/ nicely, /zore/ strongly, loudly, /šule/ slowly, /hutta~hyutta/ suddenly, early; /byaki/ quietly, secretly, /dhyā/ in this manner, /dhwā/ in that manner, /thro/ in a manner like, as in /du duthro pokši chenakuči cor/ he ran in a manner as if he was a thief, /rəŋzu thro/ like a horse.

Adverb of manner is also formed by combining participle to a nominal stem, as in /zərk rəndra/ runningly, /joi/ onfoot.

9.1.5. *Intensifiers*: Intensifiers are the modifiers of other adverbs or adjectives and occupy a place immediately before the adverb/adjective modified by them. The number of this class of words in Pattani is not large. The commonly used adverbs of degree are—/mhəs/ very, /aine/ very, much. For instance, /mhəs moŋe/ very big, /buŋha aine rəŋgi to/ the tree is very high, /ge kəniŋ aine ruŋhe secatəŋ/ I know you very well, /aine ruŋhe mire/ very good people.

9.1.6. *Syntactic Order of Adverbs*: As stated above the place of an adverb, in a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb, as in /du əti/ he came, but /du ereg əti/ he came yesterday. But when there are more than one adverbs in an utterance then they occur in a more or less fixed order. For instance, if there are two adverbs belonging to the spatial and temporal categories than the adverb of time will precede the adverb of place. In case of occurrence of more than one adverb of the same class than the specificative term will precede the general or common term, as in /du ereg phitog

dir θti/ he came here yesterday evening. In this case the term for day precedes the term for time. Further, in case of adverb of manner it follows the adverb of time but precedes the adverb of place, as in /du ereg byaki dir θti/ he quietly came here yesterday. /du ereg plitog zθrk rāmba dir θti/ he runningly came here last evening.

9.1.7. *Overlapping with Adj.* There are some adverbs particularly intensifiers which formally overlap with adjectives. For example, in /aine ruθhe kθtu/ a very good boy, the intensifier 'very' is an adjective because it modifies the adjective 'good' which in its turn modifies the noun boy, but in /d prθwa aine/ mhθs tej/ he speaks very fast, here, it is an adverb which modifies another adverb 'fast'.

## 9.2. Particles

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrase, there are some more indeclinables which in grammatical parlance are termed as 'particles'. On the basis of their functions and syntactic position these are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives, and interjections. These may be illustrated as follows:

9.2.1. *Connectives:* The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin the two elements of the same type, may be words, clauses or sentences. In Pattani, the number of words belonging to this class is very limited, for, in many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a pause or juncture itself. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be monomorphemic or poly-morphemic. The uses of some of these may be illustrated as under:

9.2.2. *Additive:* The additive particles or conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate sentences to the principal sentence are called subordinative.



9.2.3. *Coordinative*: The coordinative additive particle in Pattani is /e/ 'and', as in /due ge/ he and I, /ram e šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /rəñbi sən e ti rəñ/ give grass and water to the horse. But in coordinative sentences its function is served by a mere pause juncture as well, as in /doi rəñdra, gye tuñmatəg/ he gives (and) I drink.

9.2.4. *Subordinative*: In fact, the languages of this group do not prefer subordinative type of syntactic constructions. In these cases the function of the subordinative connective is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of narration: e.g.

/doi kuṛi, gyabi yoş leki to/ he said, I am feeling hungry.  
/doi ruktu, kənu yo āre tod/ he asked, where is your son?

9.2.5. *Alternative*: The pairs of alternative particles are /ya—ya/ either—or, /nə—nə/ neither—nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them, as in  
/ya gye lhəog, ya kəi lhəu/ either I shall do, or you do,  
/nə ene lha nə uitin lhazi rəñdra/ neither he does, nor allows others to do.

Adverbs serving as connectives also occur at the head of the statement linked by them, as in /aughəṛi kə : əpon, dorəñ gye yog/ when you (will) come, then I shall go.

9.2.6. *Contrastive*: The contrastive particles in Pattani are—  
/ma/ otherwise, /pər/ but ; /tāla/ still:

/di lhəu, ma du naraj šoto/ do it otherwise he will be angry.  
/du gye khəndri dir ənde, pər gye madorig/  
he came here to see me, but I was not here.  
/thakcite məṛphog tāla košis lhəog/  
though I cannot break, still (even then) I shall try.

9.2.7. *Conditional*: In subordinative sentences the particles expressing conditions are placed at the head of both the sentences :

/əne kə : ətinə šəit gye la yog/  
If you come, perhaps I may also go.

Some other conjunctions, usually, attested in this language are—/tui/ before, /chena-kuča/ as if, /cheri-kuči/ therefore, because, /beči-tui/ before (in time), /do-tha/ then.

9.2.8. *Emphatic Particles*: In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy stress/pitch on the particular word or longer quantity of the particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Sometimes, shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the same purpose. But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements too, are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles in it are—/e, -la, -tə/ :

- (i) /-e/ : /du 'dirr-e bəhza/ he live very much here.  
/di 'tui-e dəkši to/ this is already broken.  
/'gye-e-yog I alone shall go.
- (ii) /la/ also : /nhacu, kəniñ-la rəmīg/ wait, I will give to you also.  
/kəi du tui-la tənñə/ have you seen him earlier as well?
- (iii) —/tə/ : /gye tə yoge/ So far as I am concerned, I shall definitely go.

(It has the force of Hindi emphatic particle —to).

9.2.9. *Negative Particle*: As in other languages of this group in Pattani, too, there are two negative particles, viz. /mə/ and/ tə/. Distributionally, the former negates the presence of anything in general and the latter prohibits the execution of any action. The usual position of a particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it.

- (i) /-ma/ : /du dur ma toi/ he was not there.  
/gye ma lhəttəg/ I did not do.  
/doi ma zəwa/ he does not eat.  
/di panu ma šu/ this is not milk.
- (ii) /-thə/ :—/thela/ = /thə + ila/ don't go.  
/thə-lhəu/ don't do.  
/thega/ should't I go ?

(iii) /'əppela/ : It is an emphatic negative conveying the sense of 'never', /gye əppela meg/ I shall never go.

9.2.10. *Interrogative Particle*: In it the interrogative particles used with reference to involving 'yes' 'no' type answers are: /čhi/ what, if, whether, and /a/. The former may be placed in the beginning or at the end of the utterance and the later is affixed to the number person marker of the verb-concerned. /čhi di panu mašu/ Is this not milk?

/iga/ may/should I go ? /əka/ may/should I come?

### 9.3. Interjections

Interjections are complete sentences, which carry the sentence intonation. In Pattani their number is not much. The commonly attested interjections, are — /šabas/ bravo! /oi/ yes, /ei/ well gentleman! /e-e/ very sad, /əcha/ is it so!, /he ram/~ /he bhəgwan/ O Lord! O God!. /ila ila/ get away.

## 10. SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structure of Pattani have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in it is as under:

### 10.1. Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group, Pattani too, favours a simple sentence. Even ideas of complex nature, are expressed through more than one simple sentences. However, if necessary these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence or clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

### 10.2. Constituents of a Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are a noun phrase constituting the subject and its extensions and a verb

phrase constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is -Subject  $\pm$  Object + Verb. As such syntactically, it belongs to the SOV group.

/doi z̥wa/ he is eating/he eats.

/gyu min soh̃ñ ʃu/ my name is Sohan.

/k̥ʈu b̥g̥t̥ z̥wa/child is eating food.

In transitive sentences, which contain more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/yazi k̥tubi panu r̥ñdra/ mother gives milk to the child.

/doi rh̃ñbi ti r̥ni/ he gave water to the horse.

/gye k̥ñ/in kh̃mze h̃nd̥g/ I have brought clothes for you.

### 10.3. Noun Phrase

The constituents of a subject or noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding the noun head, e.g. /doi z̥wa/ he is eating, /eke zirpa/ the sun is rising. /k̥ʈu ili/ the child went. /kwãi pya/small bird.

10.3.1. *Extension of Noun Phrase:* A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head, which may precede or follow the head concerned. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers, in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, they occur in the following order:

$\pm$  demonstrative,  $\pm$  numeral,  $\pm$  intensifier,  $\pm$  qualitative.

/dur pya to/ there is a bird.

/dur ĩa kwãi pya to/ there is a small bird.

/dur ĩa kwãi ʃei pya to/there is a small red bird.

From the above examples it is evident that in case of an extension of an N.P., a numeral qualifier precedes the qualitative modifiers. In case of more than one qualitative modifiers the one referring to 'colour' or 'size' precedes others. However, in case of both occurring together the one referring

to size precedes the one referring to colour, as in /kwači šei pya/ a small red bird. /kwači tiñi buṭa/ small green tree. Moreover, an intensifier invariably precedes the element intensified by it, e.g. /iča aine šei pya/ a very red bird.

#### 10.4. Agreement of Modifiers with the Head

As stated earlier (6.4) all modifiers in Pattani, except the pronominal ones belong to indeclinable class of words as such in this no modifier/qualifier shows any kind of agreement with the noun qualified by it, for example

kwači buṭa/ small tree : /kwači pya/ small bird.  
/phrei kəṭu/ fat boy : /phrei mecimi kəṭu/ fat girl.

#### 10.5. Verb Phrase

A simple verb phrase or a V.P. contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries. In case of a finite verb the V.P. can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it needs a complement to complete it, which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/doi zəwa/ he is eating/ he eats.  
/du wəpa/ he is laughing/ he laughs.  
/eke zirpa/ the sun is rising.  
/mohən gyū yar šu/ Mohan is my friend.  
/di rhən šei to/ this horse is red one.

10.5.1. *Components of a composite verb phrase:* The constituents of a composite verb phrase are: Principal verb stem,  $\pm$  one or more full verb stem,  $\pm$  auxiliary. Syntactically, the place of the auxiliary is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the V.P. concerned.

/du soṇiṇla im lhaza/ he has slept on the ground.  
/gye cunriṇ ibimi tətəg/ I want to go home.

10.5.2. *Extension of verb phrase:* A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement:

/du ʔti/ he came.

/du ɛɾeg ʔnde/ he came yesterday.

/du ɛɾeg dir ʔti/ he came here yesterday.

/du ɛɾeg ñukhəlki dir ʔti/ he came here last evening.

### 10.6. Concord

It is well-known that these languages have no grammatical gender. As such the scope of agreement between the subject/object and the verb is limited to the number and the person categories only, which may be explained as follows:

10.6.1. *Concord in subjectival constructions*: In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative case or in the direct case.

/kəʔui bəgət zəwa/ the child is eating food.

/kəʔukui bəgət zəwatoku/ two children are eating food.

/kəʔuči bəgət zəwatore/ children are eating food.

/kəi zəwatən/ you (sg.) are eating.

/keəi zəwatəñi/ you (pl.) are eating.

/gye zəwatəg/ I eat/ I am eating.

/du ičəa ibi leki toi/ he was coming alone.

/du juʔ miku ibi leki toiku/ they two persons were coming.

10.6.2. *Concord in objectival construction*: In objectival constructions there is an agreement between the verb and the object. But most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour objectival constructions. All objectival constructions of Indo-Aryan languages become subjectival in it. Hence there is no agreement between the object and the verb, e.g. a Hindi sentence like /jəb kam kiya təb khana khaya/ is rendered as /jəb kam kiye, təb khana khaye/ as in /kəm ləttəi dərən bəgəd zəttəñi/ having finished the work (we) took the meal. Here the verb agrees with the first person plural subject, as is the case in the eastern dialects of Hindi. Similarly /kəʔui mecmi kəʔu khəñatu/ boy saw girl, /mecmikəʔuci gəñkə-ture khəñatore/ girls saw boys. In both the cases the verb agrees with the number and person of the subject, not of the object as we find in Hindi. A few more examples:

/rame mohānbi iča geppa raktu/  
 Ram asked one thing from Mohan.  
 /rame mohānbi māste gappa raktu/  
 Ram asked many things from Mohan.

Moreover, the objectival construction is confined to transitive verbs only, and in this regard we have already pointed out that in Pattani in transitive sentences the object is in the nominative case and the verb agrees with the subject which is in the ergative case.

### 10.7. Types of Simple Sentences

Semantically or structurally a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative etc. and an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal or causative etc. All these aspects of the verb with their morpho-syntactic character have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself. Their reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

### 10.8. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are a combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative conjunction or additive conjunctions, but in Pattani there occurs an open juncture, instead of a conjunction between the two sentences:

/gyu kām t āšui, pā r kēnu kām māšui/  
 my work is done. but your work could not be done.  
 /doi rāndra gye tuṇmatāg/ he gives and I drink.  
 /doi ghādhikpa lāri, ṇeci zḥua lāriṇi/ he cooked and we ate.  
 /sidda ila, dor āpipun/ go straight (and) you will reach there.

### 10.9. Coordinative Sentences

This type of sentences are cojoined by coordinative conjunctions like, 'either...or...', 'neither...nor...', otherwise, etc.

/doi nā zāwa, nā zāi rāṇḍra/

he neither eats, nor allows to eat.

/nhacu, ma ila/ sit down, otherwise go.

#### 10.10. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but there one of them is subordinate or dependent to the other. The number of dependent clauses may be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for Pattani.

10.10.1. *Conditional*: In this type of syntactic constructions the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers, viz. 'if' and 'then' (expressed or inexpressed). In which the 'if' clause is a subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/kə : ilinā, seth, gibi la əpi lepato/

if you come, (then) I shall also have to come.

[also see 8.13.5 (iii)].

10.10.2. *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. In this the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out, and its purpose is served by a pause juncture.

/doi kuttu, gye yoñi totog/ he said, I am hungry.

/rame ruktu, kə : əṛətikčē əpi leki toton/

Ram asked, where are you coming from ?

/doi kuttu, gye ɖak cicimi tətəg/

he said, I have to write a letter.

/gye zungə, gye ruṭhe kəm lhəog/

I wish (that) I should do good deeds.



10.10.3. *Relative*: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or the complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause.

/čũ yoto, du ȁpoto/ whosoever goes (will go), he will come.

/chi pepon, du rȁmoñi/ whatever you ask for, that will be given.

# **TINANI**

*Introductory Note*

*Sound System*

*Grammatical Structure*

## INTRODUCTION

### **Linguistic Area**

Tinani dialect is mainly spoken in lower Chandra Valley from Sissu Nullah to Gondhala, situated on the right bank of it. It comprises three kothis (Jagirs) of this valley, viz, Sissu, Gondhala, and Goshal. The hamlets and villages falling in the jurisdiction of this dialect are—Sissu, Gompathang, Shrops, Shuling, Khangsar, Margyad, Jangla, Dalang, Purad, Khinang, Raling, Thorang, and Gondhala. It has a closer affinity with Pattani and Gahri. The language of the upper part of this valley, falling under the jurisdiction of Khoksar Kothi is called Rangloi, which is highly influenced by the Tibetan speech of Spiti and is only a variant of it.

The villages constituting the area of Rangloi are—Gramphu, Khwaling and Khoksar. It shows its affinity with Tod and Spitian. Therefore, no separate analysis has been offered for it in this volume.

### **Population and Speakers**

No independent statistics of the number of inhabitants of the valley and speakers of Tinani and Rangloi could be obtained from any source.

### **Literature**

There is absolutely no literature available either for Tinani or Rangloi, except a small vocabulary printed in Diack's Kulu Grammar. The great Survey of Grierson has dismissed it in a couple of paragraphs only (pp. 467-468). It does not contain even the translation of the parable of the Prodigal Son.

**Sources of Data**

As pointed out above, no earlier source material, whatsoever, was available for this analysis. As such the present analysis is solely based on the first hand recording on the data from two informants, viz. Shri Amar Chand Thakur of Thorang and Shri Bir Singh of Jangla, which [was further verified from a few more speakers from the area.

## SOUND SYSTEM

The different sets of vowel and consonant phonemes and their allophones attested in Tinani can be described as follows:

### 1. VOWELS

There are in all six vowels in Tinani which can be set up as phonemes on the basis of their phonemic contrasts. Schematically these may be presented as under (according to tongue position):

	Front	Central	back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low			a

As regards the lip position front and central vowels are unrounded and back vowels, except /a/, are rounded.

#### 1.1. Phonemic Contrasts

The phonemic contrasts of these may be illustrated as below:

i/e : /li/ heavy: /le/ tongue; /mi/ man: /me/ fire.

i/u : /mig/ eye: /mug/ snow; /di/ this: /du/ that.

i/o : /din/ here: /don/ there; /lo/ year: /li/ heavy.

i/a : /kurča/ lamb: /kurči/ to lift; /li/ heavy: /la/ month.

e/u : /de/ horn: /du/ cloud, /keṭri/ to put: /kuṭri/ to say.

e/o : /teñči/ to fight: /tonči/ to put in; /med/ wife; /mod/ face.

e/a : /le/ tongue; /la/ moon; /me/ fire: /ma/ not.

a/u : /ka/ your, /ku/ nine; /nači/ to sit: /nuči/ to rub.

a/o : /thagči/ to break; /thogči/ to cough, /chamo/ elder brother's wife: /chomo/ vegetable.

a/ə : /ka/ your: /kə/ thou; /chəñ/ beer: /chañ/ nest.

u/o : /ya/ mother: /yo/ son; /čuh/ arrow: /čon/ onion.

u/ə : /kum/ pillow: /kəm/ work; /tub/ fist: /təb/ ashes.  
/lon/ asthma: /lən/ roof, teat.

ə/o : /səd/ god: /šod/ lunch; /təg/ name of a year: /tag/ today.

1.1.1. *Vocalic sequences*: There are no diphthongs in it. However, the following types of vocalic sequences are attested in some of the vocables.

ai/əi : /saidi/ eleven, /aine/ alright, /kəmaiči/ to earn.

oi : /soiti/ cold water, /soi/ cool, /thoi/ high, /toi/ in olden days, /phoi/ a few.

ui : /šui/ blood, /trui/ six, /yui/ old, /khui/ dog, /nui/ new.

ei : /šrei/ shy, /sei/ contemination, /kyei/ difficult, /lei/ yellow.

əi : /thəi tri/ to deceive, /kəi/ spade/ zəi/ to eat.

u : /trəu/ an agri. instrument, /thrəu/ a liquid container.

au : //mau/ bed bug.

1.1.2. *Distribution*: Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all positions without any specific restrictions. Their occurrences in various positions can be seen in the above and following examples. However, examples of occurrence in the initial position may be illustrated as follows:

/əmpi/ to come, /apa/ father's mother, /ači/ sister,

/iča/ one, /eki/ yesterday, /omo/ snake, /uməɾ/ age.

However, occurrence of /u/ in the initial position of a native word could be attested in our data, though its occurrence in the initial syllable is quite frequent, as in /sumu/ three etc.

1.1.3. *Allophonic Variations*: In Tinani identical vowels do not attest phonemic contrast based on long : short quantities of them, though quantitative differences in their intrinsic quantity are very much attested there in their predictable phonetic environments.

(a) *Quantitative Variants*: From the point of quantity, all vowels are realized shorter, as compared with their intrinsic quantity, when occurring in the initial syllable of a disyllabic or a polysyllabic word, as in /iča/ one, /sumu/ three, /trui/ six, /apa/ father's mother, /eki/ yesterday, /omo/ snake, /soti/ water, /tepči/ to press, /buzu/ monkey, /yagči/ to lick, /migči/ to count.

A vowel occurring in a final open syllable of a disyllabic word maintains its full intrinsic quantity, e.g. all the vowels occurring in the final syllables of above noted examples, are realized with a fully long quantity as compared with their identical vowels occurring in the initial syllables.

However, the quantity of a vowel occurring in mono-syllabic words, close or open, depends much on the accent on it, i.e. the quantity of the vowel is shorter if there is a stress accent and longer if a pitch accent which in some cases is significant as well. (see 1.2.2.b) e.g. it is short in /ips/ sleep, /riñ/ sister, /kum/ pillow, /sar/ ear-ring, /go/ rock, /ro/ corpse, /cher/ anxious, due to prominent stress accent on them but it is comparatively long in /ga/ wound, /cha/ tooth, /ña/ nose, /pi/ four, /ɖe/ horn, /di/ this, /du/ that; /mi/ man, /roz/ daily. Incidentally, most of the words with short quantity are in close syllables and with long quantity in open syllables, though the underlying force is accent itself.

(b) *Qualitative Variants*: The mid open vowel /o/ tends to be realized as the lower mid vowel /ɔ/ before a nasal consonant, as in /coñ/[cɔñ] onion, /toñpa/[tɔñ. pa] empty, /tom/[tɔm] tiger, /gɔñgɔñ/ to bend.

(c) *Nasalized Variants*: All vowels are realized as their nasalized variants when occurring with a nasal consonant. e.g. as in /omo/[õmõ] insect, /ña/[ñã] five, /cɔm/[cɔ̃m] hair, /canči/[cãnci] to swallow; /luñ/[lũñ] asthma, /meme/[mẽmẽ] grandfather.

## 1.2. CONSONANTS

In Tinani the number of consonants phonemes established on their phonemic oppositions is 31. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation, the classes of plosives and affricates further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schemetically, be presented as under:

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation						
	Bilabial	Dental (post dental)	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Guttural
Plosives							
Vl.	p, ph	t, th		c, ch	t, th,	k, kh	(?)
Vd.	b	d		j	d	g	
Affricate							
Vl.			č, čh				
Vd.			dz (z)				
Nasal	m (mh)	n (nh)		ɲ	(ŋ)	ŋ	
Vibrant						r(rh)	
Flapped						ɾ	
Lateral				l(lh)	(l)		
Fricative		s z		ʃ	(ʂ)	h	
Frictionless continuants or glides	w			y			

*Note*—The consonants in parentheses do not have phonemic status.



The sound system of Tinani does not have voiced aspirates as the constituents of its regular sound system, there being no phonemic contrast available between them and their unaspirate counterparts. Occurrence of gh, ḡh, dh, bh in the initial position of a few words is confined to I.A. loans only, e.g. /ghəŋ/ hammer, /ghure/ a folk song, /ḡhal/ solutation, /bhitti/ wall, /bhura/ grey, etc.

### 1.2.1. Phonemic Contrast

With regard to phonemic contrasts in Tinani, it may be noted that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrasts of their phonetic features are copiously attested in the initial position, yet in other positions only a few of them show this contrast. Some of these do not contrast at all in the medial and final positions. The four fold distinction of presence vs. absence of voice and aspiration too is attested in the initial position only. It is almost neutralized in the medial and final positions. The unaspirate voiced consonants do not have their aspirate counterparts. The aspirate counterparts of the vibrant and lateral consonants too do not attest their significant contrasts. The available phonemic contrasts of various consonants of Tinani may be illustrated as under:

*Plosives: Bilabials* /p, ph, b/

p/b : /apa/ father's mother: /aba/ father; /pi/ four: /bi/ to.

p/ph : /purči/ to sprinkle: /phurči/ to shake; /pi/ four: /phi/ late.

*Dental* : /t, th, d/

t/d : /tom/ tiger: /dom-/ to meet; /təŋ/ narrow: /diŋ/ here.

/t/th : /tači/ to borrow: /thanči/ to listen.; /tenči/ to fight; /thinči/ to spread (intrans).

*Retroflex*: /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ/

ṭ/ḍ : /ṭu/ smoke: /ḍu/ cloud: /ṭrug/ sweat: /ḍrug/ rainbow.

ṭ/ṭh : /ṭrəu/ an agri. implement; /ṭhrəu/ a liquid container.

**Palatals :** /c, ch, j/

c/ch : /ca/ tea; /cha/ tooth; /cañci/ to swallow; /chañci/ to throw.

c/j : /cəl-cəl/ round (small); /jəl-jəl/ round (big.).

**Affricates :** /č, čh, ž/

c/ch : /čəm/ hair; /čhəm/ bridge;  
/čomo/ nun; /čhomo/ vegetable.

č/ž : /čomo/ nun; /žomo/ bull yak (hybrid);  
/ač'i/ sister; /aži/ to return

čh/ž : /čhañ/ nest; /žəñ/ gold.

**Palatals :** /c, ch, j/ vs. **affricates** /č, čh, ž/

č/c : /čəm/ hair; /cəm/ skin.

čh/ch : /cha/ salt; /čha/ tooth; /čher/ anxious; /chir/ waist rope.

j/ž : /jəñ/ root; /žəñ/ gold; /jel/ prison; /zel/ cooked rice;

ž/z : /ñiži/ good, beautiful; /nizi/ two.

**Velars :** /k, kh, g/

k/g : /ka/ your; /ga/ wound; /kur/ load; /gor/ belching.

k/kh : /kəm/ work; /khəm/ clothes; /kəñtri/ to show;  
/khəñtri/ to see.

kh/g : /khog/ belly; /gog/ hiccup.

**Liquids :** /r, l/

r/l : /kəñri/ to dry, dried; /kəñli/ to load; /ra/ hundred;  
/la/ goat; /šəñr/ ear-ring; /səl/ dysentery; /ro/ corpse;  
/lo/ age.

**Nasals :** /m, n, ñ, ɳ/

m/n : /ma/ not; /na/ in; /əñci/ to get up; /əñca/ path.

m/ñ : /ma/ not; /ña/ fish; /meme/ grandfather; /ñene/ we.

m/ɳ : /ma/ not; /ña/ five; /čhəm/ brigde; /chəñ/ beer.

n/ɳ : /ləñ/ air, reply; /ləñ/ root, teat; /na/ in; /ña/ five.

n/ñ : /na/ in; /ña/ fish.

Nasals do not show contrast with their aspirated counterparts. The retroflex nasal /ŋ/ does not attest contrast with any nasal consonant.

*Fricatives* : /s, ʃ, h/

ʃ/s : /ʃa/ meet : /sa/ ten; /ʃəci/ to cut meat : /seci/ to recognize, /ʃəɾ/ east, /səɾ/ wire.

ʃ/h : /ʃur/ deodar (tree) : /hur/ ram

h/φ : /hənci/ to bring : /ənci/ to get up

/rħəñ/ horse : /rəñ/ colour.

*Semi-consonants*: There are no minimal pairs available of the phonemic contrasts of the semi-consonants, /y/ and /w/. However, their phonemic significance may be accepted on the basis of the contrast of their phonemic absence.

y/φ : /kyum/ home : /kum/ pillow, /kyuči/ to call: /kuči/ to mix.

w/φ : /chwa/ jump : /cha/ salt.

*Liquids vs. flapped* : /jəɭ jəɭ/ round (big) : /jəɾ jəɾ/ lazy.

Its phonemic status is also confirmed by its contrast with zero phoneme or its absence.

ɾ/φ : /chwaɾ/ to jump : /chwa/ a jump.

/ɬet/ flood : /ɬe/ horn.

However, no minimal pairs of contrast between the vibrant liquid /ɾ/ and the flapped /ɾ/ could be obtained in our data.

### 1.2.2. Supra-segmental Phonemes

Among supra segmental phonemes the following show significant contrast:

(a) *Nasality*: Nasality is both phonemic and non-phonemic. Examples of the non-phonemic nasality have already been given in connection with allophonic variants of vowels (1.1.3 c.). Examples of the phonemic nasality may be shown

as under:

/tāla/ even then : /tala/ palm.

~  
/d̪ə/ ward-robe : /d̪ə/ pity, comparison.

(b) *Accent*: Accent is a phonemic feature in Tinani. The examples of its phonemic contrast may be illustrated as below:

/lá/ moon : /la/ goat

/l̪ə'n/ air : /l̪ən/ reply.

### 1.2.3. Distribution

Distributionally, all the consonants but /ŋ/ can occur in the initial position and all but aspirates, retroflex, semi-consonants and the fricative /h/ in the final position. Occurrence of /y/, /w/ and /h/ is also not attested in the medial position. In the final position occurrence of other plosives too is very limited. The most frequent sounds, occurring in the word final position are: vowels, nasals, and liquids. Among retroflex sounds only the flapped /ɾ/ and the retroflex nasal /ŋ/, mostly in Indo-Aryan loans, are attested in this position.

Occurrence of retroflex consonants, though, is attested in the initial and medial positions, but on the whole, their ratio in the language is very marginal. They are mostly attested either in Indo-Aryan loans or when in conjunction with /r/ : In the latter environment it seems to be a by-product of a dental + r, e.g. /k̪ən̪ʈi/ necklace, /k̪ən̪ʈri/ to show, /k̪ə̃ʈu/ window, /kũni/ corner, /kãna/ one eyed man, /ʈuk̪ʈa/ piece, /gwãn/ fox, /ʈrik̪č̪i/ to chop, /ʈun̪ʈri/ to wrap, /ʈrui/ six, etc.

Occurrence of /ɾ/ is limited to the non-initial position only, as in /d̪eɾ/ flood, /huɾ/ ram, /takuɾi/ spindle, /tuɾka/ seasoning, /moɾe/ big.

### 1.2.4. Allophonic Variations

(i) *Incomplete Articulation*: Plosives occurring in a pre-pausal position do not have their plosion. There the contact

of the articulator with the place of articulation of the plosive concerned does not take place firmly. Consequently, they are perceived very indistinctly, e.g. /konco?k/=[konco?] god, /gog/=[go?k] hiccup, /kyðb/=[kyð p] needle.

(ii) *Devoicing*: As stated above Tinani is predominantly a vowel ending or a nasal ending language. Among plosives which usually can occur in this position are the unaspirate voiced one. In this position all these, however, tend to be devoiced i.e. are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in

/zug/=[zuk] illness, pain, /mig/=[mik] eye, /tðb/ =

[tðp] ashes, /tub/=[tup] fist; /zðd/=[zðt] barley,

/mod/=[mot] face, /rðdðð/=[rðtðð] cow, etc.

A voiced plosive is also realized as its voiceless counterpart when occurring before another voiceless consonant, as in /dagpo/=[dak-po] husband, /khogtðñ/=[khoktðñ] pregnant, /chugpi/=[chuk-pi] to find, /nðd-pa/=[nðtpa] sick, /sog.pa/=[sok-pa] wings, /ibs/=[ips] sleep.

(iii) *Fricativisation*: Velar consonants, /g/ and /kh/ are realized as glottal fricatives /q/ & /x/ when accompanied with glottal constriction, (and /kh/ as /x/ otherwise too). For instance, /da?gpo/=[da?qpo] husband; /zðro?g/=[zðro?q] rock, /bðkhthon/=[bðxthon] marriage, /bðkhaðr/=[bðxsðr] bride.

(iv) *Palatalization*: Particularly, velar consonants tend to be palatalized when followed by a front vowel, as in /gc/=[gye] I, /kei/=[kyei] difficult, /kerçi/=[kyerci] to weigh, /khe/=[khye] what? /gemec/=[gyemec] girl. /khi/=[khyi] dog, /khena/=[khyena] how?.

(v) *Assimilation*: The phenomenon of assimilation also is attested in certain environments, as in dental→palatal→palatal, e.g. /rðd + cð/→/rðccð/ cow, /zðd + tog/→/zðttog/ I shall remain.

(vi) *Aspiration*: Sporadically, initial liquids, nasals or voiced plosives show a tendency of aspiration. Consequently, they are pronounced as their aspirate counterpart. It is purely a phonetic phenomenon and does not attest any phonemic

contrast with their non-aspirate counterparts, as in /rhu/ father-in-law, /rhuṣpa/ bone, /lhazi/ to do, /kulhig/ key, /nhiz/ twenty, /bhuči/ to wipe, /dhugpo/ ladies upper garment, etc.

(vii) *Retroflexion*: Retroflexion of certain consonants in their specific phonetic environments is another feature of some consonants in it.

[ŋ] : /n/ is not a regular phoneme in Tinani but its existence as an allophone of /n/ is attested when occurring before a retroflex consonant, as in /kaŋthi/ necklace.

[l] : Similarly, a retroflex variant of /l/ is attested when occurring before a retroflex consonant as in /kuḷtri/ to play on an instrument, /khwəḷtri/ to make drink, /kuḷṣi/ to make a sound (instrumental). It is also attested in non-initial position, particularly in I.A. loans, as in /daḷ/ pulses, /gaḷi/ abuse, /jəḷ/ incessant rain.

[r] The phoneme /ḍ/ has a flapped allophone which, like Hindi occurs in complementary distribution, i.e. in non-initial positions, as in /cikkəṛ/ mud, /tʊkɾa/ piece, /baṛ/ flood, /takuṛi/ spindle.

Besides, all retroflex consonants, which otherwise are alveolar, are realized fully retroflex when in cluster with a vibrant, as in /khəṇtri/ to see, /tʃrəṇu/ a liquid container, /tʃrug/ perspiration, /ḍro/ thigh, /ḍiṭhro/ like that.

(viii) *Tonalization*: As in Pattani, in Tinani too the glottal fricative /h/ when occurring in a non-initial position tends to be realized as a high falling tone, as in /meh/= /mé/ fire, /mih/ /mí/ man, /ah/= /à/ lip, /goh/= /gó/ mountain, etc.

### 1.2.5. Consonant Clusters

Tinani is quite rich in the matter of consonant clusters. Various types of combinations of different consonants are attested in the medial and initial positions in this preferential order. There are only a couple of patterns attested in the final position. In the initial position clusters of the following nature are, usually, attested:

(i) *Plosive/nasal/ + semivowel:*

+y = /kyug/ chest, /khyañ/ where, /gyðlbi/ to win,  
 /pyacə/ bird, /phyater/ forehead, /byarci/ to stick,  
 /chyðci/ to be tired, /syenzi/ thin, /hyurna/ quick,  
 /khyucə/ arm,

+w : /khwa|tri/ to feed, /gwan/ fox, /gworpi/ to belch,  
 /cwaksipa/ pungent, /chwampi/ to jump, /zwaʔa/ to graze crops.

(ii) *Plosive + r* : /kro/ charcoal, /krag/ a crow, /khricə/ a loom, /grampa/ cheek, /ghrusu/ street, lane, /preg/ broom, /pro/ anger, /trui/ six, /tremna/ quietly, /brinca/ finger, /brid brid/ fat, ɪthick, /trug/ perspiration, /θrulsi/ to swing, /dʁubdʁe/ square, /ʃret/ shame.

(iii) *Liquid/ nasal + h*

/rhəñ/ horse, /rhu/ father-in-law, /rhəg/ stone,  
 /lhazi/ to do, /lhara/ a local bread, /nhiza/ twenty.

The only available patterns in the final position are:

(i) p+s or s+p, as in /ips/ sleep, /hops/ a creeper, /rips/ rib, (ii) l/r+t, as in /gəlt/ wrong, /gərt/ grinding stone.

In the medial position the usually attested patterns, besides the above, are –(i) plosive+plosive, (ii) nasal + plosive, (iii) liquid + plosive, (iv) nasal + liquid, (v) liquid + nasal, (vi) liquid + sibilant, (vii) sibilant + plosive, (viii) plosive + sibilant (for examples see dissyllabic and polysyllabic patterns (1.3.1.) with complex interludes, *i.e.* /-VCCV-/ pattern).

## 1.3. WORD STRUCTURE

Structurally, a word in Tinani, may be monomorphemic or poly-morphemic, has the following, phonetic peculiarities,

(1) It never begins with retroflex /ŋ/ or flapped /ɾ/.

- (2) Normally, it ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid, a sibilant or a voiced plosive.
- (3) No unvoiced consonant or semiconsonant, except a sibilant, occurs at the end of it.
- (4) No conjunct consonant, except those described above, can begin or end a word.
- (5) It accepts an open juncture on either side of it.

### 1.3.1. Syllabic Structure of a Word

The constituents of a word are syllables, which may have one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences between the two successive junctures and also are capable of conveying a single concept. Morphologically such a unit may be a mono-morphemic or polymorphemic, but semantically the meaning conveyed by it is a composite one.

### 1.3.2. Syllabic Patterns

The permissible structure of various syllabic units, the constituents of a word, may be of one of the following nature.

(a) *Monosyllabic Words*: In monosyllabic words the pattern of the syllables may be as under:

/V/ : /a/ lip.

/VC/ : /ek/ sun,

/CV/ : /ca/ tea, /gʊ/ mountain, /la/ goat, /pi/ four.

/CVC/ : /kum/ pillow, /pʊh/ foot, /khɔm/ clothes, /khog/ belly.

/CCVC/ : /kyug/ chest, /krag/ a crow, /chwaɾ/ jump.

/CCV/ : /kro/ charcoal, /chwa/ jump, /rbu/ father-in-law.

/VCC/ : /ips/ sleep, /rips/rib, /gɔlt/ wrong.

(b) *Disyllabic Words*: In disyllabic words the patterns of syllabic constituents are as under:

/ (C)V V / : /oi/ yes, /ʃui/ blood, /soi/ cool.

/ (C)V C V / : /sumu/ three, /aba/ father, /phece/ uncle.



- /CVCVC/ : /māddəm/ bad, /zərog/ rock, /suñin/ lap, /jətəm/ sickle.
- /CVCCV/ : /charpa/ rain, /kərma/ star, /kərzi/ axe, /bənma/ bride, /keṭri/ to put, /reṭra/ ear.
- /CVCCCV/ : /khəntri/ to see, /tuntri/ to wrap, /sulgyu/ flour.
- /CCVCCV/ : /kyerci/ to weigh, /grəmpa/ cheek, /kyanca/ old woman.
- /CVCCVC/ : /kirkir/ circle, /khugtən/ pregnant, /khərtom/ egg, /mənḍuk/ forg.
- /CCVCCVC/ : /ñyunkər/ mustard, /hyuttən/ quickly.
- /CCVCVC/ : /ṭhrokən/ to collect, /rhagəs/demon, /kyəməṭr/ butter, /phyatər/ forehead.
- /CCVCCCV/ : /ḍrubḍre/ square, /ṭhremṭra/ veranda, /hyontri/ to lose, /khwaltiri/ to feed.
- /CCVCV/ : /jwaṛa/ grazing of crops, /khyuca/ arm, /ḍruçi/ to drag.
- /CCVCCV/ : /myaṅci/ to smell, /trikçi/ to cut, /ṭhruḷçi/ to swing, /prənca/ branch, /groṅbu/ rain-bow.
- /CVCCVC/ : /kəccəñ/ near, /gundrum/ grapes, /yoṅkən/ down ward, /hyurna/ quick, /gwaksi/ to embrace.
- /CVCCV/ : /gəḷti/ mistake, /diṭhro/ like this, /ñicci/ seven, /khopta/ rind of a pod /jobri/ plenty.
- /CVCCCV/ : /phəmblik/ butterfly, /turkyən/ dinner, /nəmk-yun/ paralysis.

Disyllabic words are both, mono-morphemic and polymorphemic. The initial syllable may begin with any consonant, except /ŋ/ and /r/, singly or with any permissible initial cluster (see 1.2.4) and may end in a vowel or consonant (see 1.2.2.) but an /h/ or /y/ cannot be the onset margins of the second syllable.

**Polysyllabic Word:** In a trisyllabic or polysyllabic word the normal structure and sequence of the syllabic constituents is attested as under:

/ (C) VVCV / : /tauna/ deaf, /aine/ if.

/ CVCCNCV / : /ñuñkuṭu/ elbow, /gārkipa/ dancer.

/ (C) VCVCV / : /ðrela/ none, /komeca/ grand daughter,  
/ropoce/ musk deer.

/ CVCCCVCCV / : /khurbrinca/ thumb.

/ (C) VCCCVCCV / : / ðlkyugca/ chin.

/ CCVCCVCV / : /cwoksipa/ pungent.

/ CVCVCCV / : /dubekphi/ to sink, /metubca/ glow worm,  
/bðcikpi/ to escape, /rðkhikci/ to save  
/churampi/ to jump.

/ CVCVCVC / : /phosocðn/ proud.

/ CVCVCCVC / : /khætðrnak/ dangerous.

/ CVVCCV / : /thðitri/ to deceive, /thðikçi/ to be deceived.

/ CCVVCV / : /šreipa/ shy.

/ CVVVCV / : /sðukar/ richman.

There are a few quadrisyllabic words as well which are of the following nature:

/ CVCVCVCCCV / : /gurubankçi/ to cowl.

/ CVCVCVCCV / : /khilayogçi/ to feed (causative).

# GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

## 2.1. WORD CLASSES

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic behaviour the following word classes are recognizable in Tinani: Nouns, Personal pronouns, Demonstratives, modifiers, verbs and function words. Normally, words of noun, pronoun and verb class enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to the former classes are variable or inflectional and those belonging to latter classes are invariable or non-inflectional.

## 2.2. WORD FORMATION

In Tinani, a word can be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of poly-morphemic words are: juxtaposition, infixation, prefixation, suffixation, compounding, reduplication and replacement. Of these suffixation is the most commonly employed device, particularly, with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal word formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

## 2.3. NOUN

Syntactically, a noun in Tinani functions as a subject or object of a verb and, morphologically, is followed by various number-case markers and post-positions.

### 2.3.1. Noun-stem

Like other languages of this group Tinani attests three kinds of nominal stems, viz. primary, derived and compound.

Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, these stems belong to three linguistic families, viz. Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and Austro-asiatic, of this sub-continent.

Primary stems belonging to Tibeto-Burman sources are mostly monosyllabic, such as /mig/ eye, /omo/ insect, /cha/ salt, /ló/ age, /gó/ mountain, /kyum/ house, /kro/ charcoal, /khyi/ ~ /khui/ dog, /tom/ tiger, /ñir/ day, /chəm/ bridge, /du/ cloud, /tu/ smoke, /ro/ corpse, /la/ moon, though there are poly-syllabic stems as well.

But primary stems from other sources are both, monosyllabic and poly-syllabic: /soti/ water, /tauna/ deaf, /kukri/ hen, /dugo/ deep, /turpyao/ bat, /ica/ one, /trui/ six, /ca/ tea.

**2.3.2. Stem Formation:** The normal mechanism of noun stem formation in it is prefixation, suffixation, compounding and reduplication.

(i) *Prefixation:* It is mainly attested with kin terms, as in /a-ba/ father, /a-ma/ mother, /a-ci/ younger, sister, /a-pu/ elder sister, /a-co/ elder brother, /mädəm/ bad (=not good), /ma-šiki/ peculiar, /nə-chəm/ fever.

(ii) *Suffixation:* Stem formative suffixes may have some specific sense to convey or may not, as in /əm-ca/ path, /puñ-pa/ shoulder, /chər-pa/ rain, /cha-mo/ elder brother's wife, /khəs-pa/ active, wise, /gərki-pa/ dancer, /nən-ca/ pitcher, /phoso-cən/ proud, /srei-pa/ shy, /nəm-ka/ sky.

(iii) *Infixation:* Cases of infixation are not many. A few of them are—/sən-gul/ earth quake, (= *sa* earth + *n* + *gul* to tremble) /yoc/ son, /yomee/ daughter, /koc/ gr. son, /komee/ gr. daughter.

(vi) *Compounding:* The number of compounded stems, having both the constituents as free form, is fairly good in it. Some of these are—/ni-za/ twenty, /ku-lhig/ key, /khog-ton/ pregnant, /rə-zəd/ wheat, /cha-ti/ a nourishing drink, /zir-eke/ east, /khər-tom/ egg, /drug-dirpi/ lightning, /so-ti/ water, /drug-dre/ square, /nem-gən/ full moon day, /hetama/ = /hetig + ama/ elder mother (MS), /ña-rdo/ morning, /ko-meca/ grand-

daughter, /bakh-thon/ marriage, /bĉn-ma/ bride, /me-tubc/ glow-worm, /me-cuñ/ maternal aunt.

(v) *Reduplication*: Reduplicated stems are very few: /gul-gul/ luke warm, /ciñiñ-ciñiñ/ small bells, /cug-cug/ pointed, /wðñ-wðñ/ wide, /te-te/ grand mother, /me-me/ grand father, /phig-phig/ a wild animal, /rðnc-rinc/ spider.

### 2.3.3. Nominal Inflection

Like in other languages of this group, in Tinani too, nouns are inflected for number and case only, there being no grammatical gender in it.

(a) *Number*: In Tinani nominal, pronominal and verbal stems are marked for three numbers, viz. singular, dual and plural. In nouns and pronouns the number markers are kept apart from case suffixes, but in verbal conjugation they are tied up with persons, tense and aspect suffixes. In this respect it closely resembles with Pattani, except in the 1st and 2nd person pronominal forms.

(1) *Singular marker*: In substantives the singular number is left unmarked or we may say: it has only a zero morpheme. The invariable number marker of the dual is *-ku* which in the nominal and pronominal inflections follows the stem and precedes the case suffix, but in the verbal conjugation follows the tense-aspect marker suffix. But the plurality is expressed in two ways.

(i) by different suffixes, occurring in their respective phonetically conditioned environment.

(ii) by adding a numeral, other than for one, or a qualifier conveying the sense of many, all, some, few, etc.

*Plural suffixes*: As stated above, the dual marker suffix *-ku* is constant and invariable but the plural marker has four allomorphs viz. /re, -te, -ſte, -ze/. Morphologically, these are very important for the inflectional structure of a substantive, for, in many cases these forms serve as a base for the inflection of other cases. The distribution of the allomorphs of the

nominative plural is as under:

(i) *-re* : It is the most commonly employed plural marker and occurs with all vowel ending and with some nasal ending stems, as in, /mi/ man; /mi-ku/ two men; /mi-re/ men, /du/ he; /do-ku/ they two; /dore/ they.

/pāñ/ foot; /pāñ-ku/ two feet; /pāñ-re/ feet.

/riñ/ sisters; /riñ-ku/ two sisters; /riñ-re/ sisters.

(ii) *-te* : The allomorph *-te* occurs with stems ending in a voiced plosive and a dental nasal;

/gud/ hand; /gud-ku/ two hands; /gud-te/=[gutte] hands.

/mig/eye; /mig-ku/ two eyes; /mig-te/eyes.

/kin/ wild goat; /kin-ku/ 2 goats; /kin-te/ wild goats.

/lāb/ leaf; /lāb-ku/ two leaves; /lāb-te/ leaves.

(iii) *-te* : It is a phonetic variant of *-te*. occurring with stems ending in a voiced plosive, but also containing the vibrant /r/ as its onset margin; /krag/ a crow; /krag-ku/ two crows; /krag-te/ crows; /rig/ ~ /rhig/ louse; /rig-ku/ two lice; /rig-te/ lice.

(iv) *-ze* : Occurrence of this plural marker allomorph is attested with stems ending in a bilabial nasal;

/khām/ clothe; /khām-ku/ two clothes; /khām-ze/ clothes;

/kum/ pillow; /kum-ku/ two pillows; /kum-ze/ pillows.

Examples of non-suffixal plural are—/sumu mi/ three men, /pi buṭa/ four trees, /bōtte khui/ many dogs, /māst ted/ many sheep.

(b) *Gender* : Like other languages of this group, Tinani too does not recognize any grammatical gender, nor there is any inbuilt prefixo-suffixal system to distinguish the gender of a substantive. The natural gender, which in no way affects the structure of other constituents of a sentence, is, however, distinguished, (i) either by using separate words, (ii) or by adding words denoting the sense of male and female or he and she.

From the point of gender all substantives are divisible into two groups: animate and inanimate. Inanimates do not have any gender. Further, for the purpose of gender distinction animates too are treated as human and non-human beings. The distinction for human beings is indicated by using different sets of terms for a male or female counterpart, as in /aba/ father; /ama/ mother; /meme/ grand-father; /tete/ grand mother; /yoc/ son; /yomec/ daughter; /koc/ grandson; /komec/ grand daughter; /pod-pa/ a Tibetan (male); /pod-pa-sag/ a Tibetan (woman); /gya-po/ king; /gya-mo/ queen.

The feminine gender makers of the non-human beings are: /-φ/ (masc.): /mo/ (fem): /zig/ tiger; /zig-mo/ tigress; /khui/ dog; /khui-mo/ bitch; or /-pho/ (m.): prefixed or suffixed, as in, /pho-rañ/ horse; /mo-rañ/ mare; /pho-khui/ dog; /mo-khui/ bitch; /tol-pho/ a male hybrid between churu and yak; /tol-mo/ a female-hybrid between churu and yak.

2.3.4. *Case*: Tinani, like Pattani, is a highly inflectional language. Casal endings are expressed either by means of suffixes, affixed to the bare stems of the substantives in sg. and after number suffixes in pl. by means of post positions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal or pronominal stems. The case suffixes are mostly tied up with number suffixes. Schemetically, these may be presented as under:

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	φ	φ	φ
Acc.-dat.	-riñ	-kutiñ	-tiñ
Ag. -Erg.	-i/-zi/-ti/-či/-tri	-kuči/-kui	-ci/-teči/-reci
Ablative	(loc.+) -ze	-kutun-ze	-tun-ze
Genitive	-u/-tu	-kuto	-tu/-retu/-tetu
Locative	-doñ/-nəñ/ -ñ	-kudoñ/-kutuñ	-doñ/-tuñ

2.3.4.1. *Syntactic correlation of case forms*: Various syntactic correlations expressed by case forms in Tinani may be explained as under:

(a) *Direct case*: The direct case has no markers. It is a case of the subject of an intransitive verb, but the direct object or a complement of the transitive verb too is placed in this very case:

In all the numbers it has only a zero case marker,  
 /thilag soniñ toce/ the child is sitting on the ground  
 /ririñ ica la toce/ there is a goat in the field  
 /dire mohônu lare sure/ these are mohan's goats.

The object of a transitive verb in the past tense is also placed in this case:

/gye kâniñe phâl rônig/ I gave you (a) fruit.  
 /gye kâ tangitðg/ I saw you.  
 /doi ðtigšuda buñare trikke/ he cut down many trees.  
 /doi mâte Eñare zðwa/ he eats many loaves of bread.

The suffix of the dual number is invariably *-ku* added to all types of stems, as in /mi-ku/ two men, /riñ-ku/ two sisters, /mig-ku/ two eyes, etc. /buñañ nizi pyacaku torceku/ two birds are seated on the tree.

From the point of nominal inflection the plural forms are very important, because in many cases these serve as a base for affixation of many other case suffixes.

(b) *Vocative Case*: The direct case is a case of direct address as well i.e. of the vocation.

/sita! kâ khyañ ibiton/ Sita! where are you going?  
 /ram! kyumuriñ ila/ Ram! go home.  
 /yocare! kenu khyañ ibitore/ children! where are you going?

(c) *Accusative-dative*: It is the case of the indirect object of all the transitive verbs and also represents the dative case.

The singular case suffix of this case is *-iñ* which is affixed to all nominal and pronominal stems of words of animate class only. It is attested as /-riñ, liñ, ziñ/ etc, with different



stems, as in /ri-rin/ to the field, /zugzin/ to the body, /lən-liñ/ to the wind.

/gye kənin qəba rənʔa/ I will give you money.

/doi gyerin bəgət rən/ he gave me food.

/gye ri-rin ica khoro həmin/ I brought a cap for sister.

A verbal object also is placed in this very case:

/du əmcirin aine tej toce/ he is very fast in walking.

/du rəncirin aine tej toce/ he is very efficient in weaving.

/ñene dotine zopirin kumin/ I asked him to sit.

/pərippirin kətabəre himpi/ books are necessary for reading.

The suffix of the dual number of this case is *-ku-tiñ* which is invariably added to all types of nominal stems and demonstrative pronominal stems, as in /pyaca-ku-tiñ/ for, to two birds, /rin-ku-tiñ/ for two sisters, /khui-ku-tiñ/ to, for two dogs. /do-ku-tiñ/ those (2) /di ku-tiñ/ these (2).

The plural suffix is */tiñ/* which is affixed to all nominal and demonstrative pronominal stems, in some cases it is affixed to the singular base of the nominative case form and in others to the plural form of it. /do-tiñ/ to them, /di-tiñ/ to these, /rin-re-tiñ/ to sisters, /buta-tiñ/ to trees.

/gye thilag-tiñ phələre rənʔritog/ I am giving fruits to children.

(d) *Ergative Case*: As in other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group in this too, the subject of a transitive verb is placed in the ergative case. The special feature of its use, as compared with Indo-Aryan, is this that as a subject of a transitive verb it can be used for all the temporal categories of past and non-past. It has five allomorphs in the singular, two in the dual and three in the plural. Their distribution may be explained as under:

sg. (i) /i/: It is affixed to pronominal stems, /kəi/, /doi/ by you, by him.

(ii) /-zi/: It is affixed to nominal stems ending in a vowel or a nasal consonant: /mizi/ by man, /riñ-zi/ by sister /sister, /khəm-zi/ clothe, /ḍe-zi/ horn, /thəɾzi/ tiger, by tiger.

(iii) /-či/: It is affixed to nominal stems ending in a voiced plosive: /mig-či/ by eye, eye; /thilag-či/ by boy, boy.

(iv) /-ti/; /-tri/: These allomorphic variants are sporadically attested with stems ending in voiced plosives, as in /gud-ti/~/gud-tri/ hand by hand, /rhig-tri/ louse, by louse.

*Dual:* (i) /-kui/: It is affixed to the demonstrative pronouns, as in /do-kui/ by those two, /di- kui/ by these two, and (ii) /-kuci/: with all nominal stems, as in /mig-kuci/ by two eyes, /gud-kuci/ by two hands, /thilag-kuci/ by two children.

*Pl.* /-či/, /-reči/, /-teči/: Out of these allomorphs the /-či/ is the real ergatives suffix and is directly affixed to demonstrative pronominal stems and to the nominative plural forms of the nominal stems which then become /reči/, /-teči/ etc., as in /doči/ by him, /ḍi-či/ by this, /riñ-re-či/ by sisters, /mig-te-či/ by eyes, /khəm-ze-či/ by clothes, /ḍe-re-či/ by horns, /thilag-te-či/ boys, by boys. Syntactic uses:

/yoreči gemecəre khəṇire/ boys saw girls.

/thilag-či zamin zəwa/ boy eats food.

/thilag-kuči zamin zəitoku/ two boys eat food.

/thilag-te-či zamin zəitore/ boys eat food.

(e) *Special feature of casual relationship of subject and object:* In most of the languages of this group the casual relationship between the subject and object of a transitive verb is well defined, i.e. in all transitive verbs, other than those having two objects, the subject is invariably in the ergative case and the object in the nominative case, as in

/gye ica seu zamin/ I ate an apple, /kəi khye zəi ton/ what art thou eating? /yoči kətab pəɾikti/ boy read a book.

However, in the case of a verb having more than one object the position of the casual relationship is expressed as

follows: the subject is in the ergative case, the indirect object in the accusative case and the direct object, real or logical, viz. a substantive or a verbal noun, in the nominative case e.g. /doi gyering ica khoro hānkya/ he brought a cap for me.

/sitazi ram-ring əmca rukti/ Sita enquired from Ram about the way.

(f) *Instrumental/Agentive*: Suffixes of this case are identical with the suffixes of the ergative case: /doi guṭṭri zamin zəwa/ he eats food with hand, /gye omo rhəgṭri rəŋge sədig/ I killed snake with (a) stone.

(g) *Sociative*: The sociative case is expressed with the help of the post-positions /rən/ and /nampo/ 'with', as in /du gye rən nampo kyumuring imin/ he is going home with me.

(h) *Ablative*: The sense of ablative case is expressed with the help of the postposition /-ze/ 'from', which invariably follows the locative case form to express this sense:

/gye buṭaŋ-ze šin taktig/ I take wood from the tree.

/doi bəṇṇəŋ-ze šən hən̄ti/ he brings grass from the forest.

/du nəgṛəŋ-ze əmpa/ he is coming from the village.

/kə khyāŋ-ze əmpiton/ where are you coming from?

Besides the locative case, it also takes the accusative case form as its base:

/ləbte buṭa-riŋ-zi dəpitor/ leaves fall from the tree.

/benṭire gorin-ze hositor/ rivers flow from the mountains.

/eke šərtin-ze zirpag/ the sun rises in the east.

Moreover, the comparative degree marker, /becə/ is also used to express the sense of ablative:

/benṭi nəgṛ-becə ~ nəgṛəŋze hoi toci/

the river is away from the village (=as compared to the village).

With regard to the ablative case one notable point is this that it is not used with pronominal stems because of the semantic inconsistency involved in the use of cases governed

by it, for one cannot use expressions such as 'from within me' etc.

(i) *Genitive*: In the singular the genitive suffixes are: /-u/ and /-tu/: which are added to vowel ending or /ñ/ ending and consonant ending stems respectively, as 'in /dou/ his, /di-u/ of this, /mi-u/ of the man, /benṭi-u/ of the river, /riñu/ of the sister, /guttu/ of the hand, /mig-ṭu/ of the eye, /buṭu/ of the tree. The allomorph /tu/ has two more variations, viz. /-ṭu/ and /-zu/ which like /-te/ and /-ze/ are correlated with the nom. pl. suffixes of the nominal stems as in /khḁm-zu/ of clothes, /rhḁg-ṭu/ of the stone.

The genitive dual and plural suffixes are: /-tu/ and /-u/, of these the suffix /tu/ is directly affixed to the nominative dual and plural forms of the nouns ending in a consonant /riñ kutu/ of two sisters, /riñ-re-tu/ of sisters, /mig-ku-tu/ of two eyes, /mig-te-tu/ of eyes.

In vowel ending stems however, the suffix, /tu/ is affixed directly to the stem itself, as in /buṭa-tu/ of trees, /benṭi-tu/ of rivers, /do-tu/ of them, /di-tu/ of this. Personal pronouns of the first and second person add only /-u/, as in /ñenu/ ours, /kenu/ yours.

(j) *Locative*: The case endings in the locative case, as in Pattani, are restricted to in animate nouns only. The basic suffix of the loc. sg. is /-ñ/, which is directly affixed to vowel ending stems, as in /buṭa-ñ/ in the tree, /benṭiñ/ in the river. But takes a linking vowel with consonant ending stems, as in /kyum-uñ/ in the house, /nḁgṛ-ḁñ/ in the village, /sḁnduk-ḁñ/ in the box, /bḁñḁñ/ in the forest, /ri-riñ/ in the field, /rat-riñ/ in the night, /tare-tiñ/ on the horses. In the case of /-riñ/ and /-tiñ/ the inflectional base seems to be the plural form of the nominative instead of the singular form. There the locative marker /-iñ/ is added to the nom. pl. suffix /-re, -te/ after dropping the final vowel of them, hence we get /-tiñ, -riñ/ etc. A few syntactic uses may be illustrated as under:

- (1) /zik bḁñḁñ zopar/ leopard lives in the forest.
- (2) /doi khḁmze sḁndukḁñ kei/ he put the clothes in the box.

- (3) /la ratə-rin cəmkikpa/ The moon shines in the night.
- (4) /benʈin ɲare toe ərə/ fishes live in the river.
- (5) /ririŋ icca la toce/ there is a goat in the field.
- (6) /du kyumuŋ toce/ he is in the house.
- (7) /doi tare-tiŋ kur kəlti/ he put load on the horses.
- (8) /soŋiŋ zou/ sit on the ground.

When the implied sense of the locative is 'inside' the object then it is expressed with the particle /nəŋ/ 'in side', as in /doi kəlkyor-nəŋ ca piŋtra/ he is putting tea in the cups. But the sense of 'on' is conveyed with the suffix /-ŋ/ itself, as in /buʈaŋ ɲizi pyacaku toceku/ two birds are seated on the tree. It is also expressed by the postposition /tokʈiŋ/ 'on, above, as well, which follows the genitive case form, as in /buʈu tokʈiŋ pyac zoki todce/ a bird is seated on the tree.

However, in case of animate objects, the sense of locative is expressed by the postposition /-doŋ/ 'in possession of' which follows the genitive-base. /gyu doŋ/ in me=in my possession /with me; /miu doŋ/ in man=in possession of man. It is also expressed with /bicəŋ/ which follows a genitive case: /do ku-tu bicəŋ di phEsla sui/ Between the two this decision took place. The dual suffix is /-ku-tuŋ/ affixed to nominal stems of all types, as in /benʈi-ku-tuŋ/ in two rivers, /mig-ku-tuŋ/ in two eyes, /buʈa-ku-tuŋ/ in two trees, but in the plural the suffix /-tuŋ/ behaves differently with vowel ending and consonant ending stems, i.e. in vowel ending stems it is directly affixed to the basic stem itself, as in /buʈa-tuŋ/ in trees, /benʈi-tuŋ/ in rivers, but in consonant ending stems it is affixed to the nom. pl. base, as in /mig-ʈə-tuŋ/ in eyes, /gud-te-tuŋ/ in hands.

### 2.3.5. Postpositions

The postpositions like case suffixes explain the relation of the noun or pronoun to some other words in the sentence or the whole sentence, and are added to them at the end. In Tinani these terms follow a definite case of the noun governed by them. The government of various postpositions is attested

as under:

(a) Postpositions following an inflected form of a noun or a pronoun in the genitive case:

- (i) /-doñ/ : Indicating 'possession' in the sense of 'having'  
/pyacu doñ sem supi/ there is life in birds=birds  
possess soul, /gyu doñ ica khui toto/ I have a dog=I  
possess a dog.
- (ii) /tok-tiñ/ : It expresses surfacessive (on, upon) and  
supperative relationship /bðlog-tu tok-tiñ khoro toci/  
there is cap on the head=(lit.)=head's upon in cap is',  
/rhəg-tu tok-tiñ/ on the stone.
- (iii) /kəccəñ/ : It expresses the relation of 'near, by':  
/kyumu kəccəñ beñti toce/ there is a river near the  
home. /nəgəru kəccəñ/ near the village.
- (iv) /lezəñ/ 'below, under' : /mezu lezəñ/ under the table.
- (v) /thəli/ 'for' : It expresses the sense of the dative case  
/gyu thəli/ for me, /kenu thəli/ for you (pl.), /riñu  
thəli/ for the sister, /abau thəli/ for the father.

(b) post-positions: that follow an inflected form of noun in the locative case:

- (i) /-ze/ 'from' : The ablative marker /-ze/ too is a post-  
position which follows the inflected form of a noun in  
the locative case:  
/doi beñtiñ-ze soti hənca/ he brings water from the  
river. (=river-in-from). /du nəgəreñ-ze əmpa/ he is  
coming from the village. (Also see examples of abla-  
tive case, above).

(c) Postpositions that follow an inflected form of nouns in the accusative case:

- (i) /ñampo/ 'with' : It expresses the sense of nearness of  
the object in question:  
/du ziktəñ ñampo bewa/ he is afraid of the tiger (lit.  
he fears the nearness of the tiger, (Hindi=*ke pās se*)

/du rhəg-tən ñampo khəre toci/ he is standing near the stone.

(d) Postpositions that follow the nominative base:

(i) /becə/ from : It is used in the ablative sense; /nəgər-becə oi/ away from the village.

### 2.3.6. Models of Nominal Declensions

(i) /mi/ man, human being (vowel ending animate)

	Sg.	du.	pl.
1. Nom. Voc.	mi	mi-ku	mi-re
2. Acc.—dat.	mi-ring	mi-ku-ting	mi-ting
3. Ag. Erg.	mi-zi	mi-ku-ci	mi-re-či/ mici
4. Ablative	X	X	X
5. Genitive	mi-u	mi-ku-tu	mi-tu
6. Locative	X	X	X

(ii) buʃa tree (vowel ending non-human)

Nom. Voc.	buʃa	buʃa-ku	buʃa-re
Acc.	buʃa-rin	buʃa-ku-ting	buʃa-in
Ag. Erg.	„	„	„
Dative	buʃa thəlzi	buʃa-ku thəlzi	buʃa-re-thəlzi
Ablative	buʃa-ze	buʃa-ku-tuñ-ze	buʃa-tuñ-ze
Genitive	buʃu (=buʃa-u)	buʃa-ku-tu	buʃa-tu
Locative	buʃan	buʃa-ku-tuñ	buʃa-tuñ

(iii) rin sister (consonant ending animate)

Nom.	rin	rin-ku	rin-re
Acc.	rin-rin	rin-ku-tin	rin-re-tin
Ag. Erg.	rin-zi	rin-ku-či	rin-re-či
Dat.	rin-thəlzi	rin-ku-thəlzi	rin-re-thəlzi

Ablative	X	X	X
Genitive	riñ-u	riñ-ku-tu	riñ-re-tu
Loc.	X	X	X

(iv) *mig* 'eye' (consonant ending inanimate)

Nom.	<i>mig</i>	<i>mig-ku</i>	<i>mig-te</i>
Acc.	„	„	„
Ag. Erg.	<i>mig-či</i>	<i>mig-ku-či</i>	<i>mig-te-či</i>
Dat.	<i>mig-tu-thəlzi</i>	<i>mig-ku-tu-thəlzi</i>	<i>mig-te-tu-thəlzi</i>
Abl.	<i>mig-tiñ-ze</i>	<i>mig-ku-tiñ-ze</i>	<i>mig-te-tiñ-ze</i>
Gen.	<i>mig-tu</i>	<i>mig-ku-tu</i>	<i>mig-te-tu</i>
Loc.	<i>mig-tiñ</i>	<i>mig-ku-tuñ</i>	<i>mig-te-tuñ</i>

### 3. PRONOUN

Like nominal stems, pronominal stems, too, are inflected for all the three numbers, but only for four cases, viz. nom., Acc. dat; Ag./Erg, and genitive.

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into five classes, viz. (1) personal, (2) demonstrative, (3) interrogative, (4) indefinite, (5) reflexive. Of these pronouns of personal, demonstrative and reflexive class are inflected for all the three numbers. In this only the duality and the plurality is marked by their respective suffixes and the singularity is left unmarked.

However, on the basis of their paradigmatic differences these stems form two groups, viz. personal and non-personal. The distinctive features of them are statable in the following way:

- (1) Paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share the characteristics of animate nouns, whereas others follow the inanimate patterns.
- (2) The contracted forms of the personal pronouns are represented in the verbal inflections as their subject or object, but not of others.



- (3) The first person pronoun has two distinct stems for the dual and plural numbers, one of which indicating inclusion of the addressee and the other exclusion of him/her.
- (4) All non-personal pronouns, in their stem form can function as a modifier to a noun which personal nouns cannot, though in their genitive form these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

Moreover, from the point of their flexional base the second and the third person pronouns maintain their stem elements constantly in all numbers and cases, whereas in the first person the basic stem is replaced by different stems in the dual and plural numbers.

All the above noted characteristics of the personal pronouns may be illustrated by the following tables:

/gye/ 'I'		1st Person				
Case	Singular	Dual		Plural		
		Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Inclu.	
Nominative	gye	iša	ñiši	ena	ñena	
Acc./dat.	gyerĩn	išaktĩn	ñisiktĩn	enak tiñ	ñentiñ	
Ag./Erg.	gye	išaki	ñimili	enaki	ñene	
Gen.	gyu	išatu	ñišitu	enu	ñenu	
/kə/ thou		2nd Person				
Case	Singular	Dual		Plural		
	ord.	hon.	Ord.	hon.	Ord.	hon.
Nom.	kə	kenə	kəncə	kenci	—	kena
Acc./dat	kəniñ/ kərdəñ	inərdəñ		kencitiñ		kentiñ
Ag./Erg.	kəi	ene		kenči		kene
Gen.	kənu	inu		kencitu	—	inu

The third person pronoun /du/ 'he', like demonstrative pronouns is neither represented in verbal forms nor follows the

dichotomy of inclusive vs. exclusive, and honorific vs. non-honorific. In their inflection too, these follow the nominal stems ending in vowels. Their paradigms may be illustrated as under.

### 3rd Person Demonstrative

Third person pronouns also represent the demonstrative pronouns which are used for pointing out a relatively remote or proximate person or thing. In Tinani they are /di/ this, /du~do/ he, that. The full paradigms of these are as under:

#### (i) /du~/do/ 'he/that'

Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	du/do	do-ku	do-re
Acc./dat.	do-riñ	do-ku-tiñ	do-tiñ
Ag./Erg.	do-i	do-ku-či	do-či
Gen.	do-u	do-ku-tu	do-tu

#### (ii) /di/ this

Nom.	di	di-ku	di-re
Acc./dat.	di-riñ	di-ku-tiñ	di-tiñ
Ag./Erg.	di-i	di-ku-i	di-či
Gen.	di-u	di-ku-tu	di-tu

### 3.1. Postpositional Case Relations of Pronominal Stems

The sense of ablative and locative cases, and sometimes of the dative case as well, is expressed with the help of different post positions, which are added to the influenced genitive base of the pronoun:

*Ablative:* It is expressed by compounding the postpositions /-doñ/ near + /ze/ from, as in /kɛnu-doñ-ze/ from near you, /gyu-doñ-ze/ from near me, /dou-doñ-ze/ from near him/that.

(i) *Locative*: The sense of locative, if at all necessary, is expressed by adding the postposition /doñ/ to the inflected genitive base of the pronoun concerned. /gyu doñ/ in me= lit, in my possession/with me. /kənu /doñ/ in you, /dou/ doñ/ in him/in that.

(ii) *Dative*: The dative case, besides the accusative case forms, is expressed by using the postposition /thəlzi/ with the inflected genitive base of the pronoun, as in /gyu thəlzi/ for me, /kənu /thəlzi/ for you, /dou/ thəlzi/ for me.

### 3.2. Interrogative Pronouns

In Tinani, the interrogative pronominal stems are /ðre/ who? /əngu/ which? and /khye/ what?, e.g.

/kənu yuñ ðre šud/ who is your brother?

/inu min khye šu/ what is your name?

A few other forms of these pronouns have been attested as follows: /khye-ləzi/ what for?: /du doñ khye ləzi ili/ what for he went there? /du sarañ khye ləzi iya/ what for did he go to Kulu? /əci/ who, by whom?: /kəniñ əci kukya/ who told you?, /əngu/ which?: /kənu kyum əngu šud/ which one is your house? With regard to their inflection it may be said that the stem /əre/ can be inflected for all the cases for which a demonstrative pronoun can be e.g. /ətiñ/ to whom, /əci/ by whom, /ətu/ whose, but not the stems /khye/ and /əngu/ which attest inflection for a few cases only.

### 3.3. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed with interrogatives itself, e.g. /ərrela/ any one: /diñ ərrela məcere/ no one is here, (lit. any one is not here). /khye-re/ any thing /khye-nə/ what ever, /khye-re la/ whatsoever, /bətte/ all. /bətte dir/ everything, /cuṭon/ some, /phoi/ a few.

### 3.4. Relative Pronoun

There are no separate stems for relative pronouns. Usually, the interrogative pronouns are employed to serve the purpose

of relative pronouns as well.

/doci khyenð hinkyel lðtore/ they may do whatever they like.

### 3.5. Reflexive pronouns

Like other languages of this group, Tinani too, has a full series of reflexive pronouns, parallel to personal pronouns, which can be inflected for all numbers and cases: Corresponding stems of all these are as under:

1st Person— /gye/: /iŋgu/ my, myself.  
/ñene/: /ñenaku/ our, ourselves.

2nd person— /kði/: /ino/ thy, thyself.  
/ken/: /kenaku/ your, yourself.

3rd person— /doi/: /inzu/ his, himself.  
/doči/: /inzetu/ their, themselves.

## 4. ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

### 4.1. Adjectives

Adjectives or modifiers of Tinani can morphologically be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former (both possessive and demonstrative) are variable *i.e.* are inflected for all the numbers.

(1) *Pronominal Adj*: Two classes of pronouns are used as adj.

(a) *Possessive dronominal Adj*: /dou aba/ his/her father, /do-ku-tu aba/ their (2) father; /do-tu aba/ their father/ fathers.

(b) *Demonstrative Adj*: /di mi/ this man, /di-ku mi-ku/ these two men, /di-re mi-re/ these men, /du khui/ that dog, /doku-khui-ku/ those two dogs, /du-re khui-re/ those dogs.

(ii) *Non-Pronominal*: But the non-pronominal adjectives, traditionally classified as qualitative, quantitative and numeral etc. are non-variable, *i.e.* are not inflected either for th<sup>3</sup>

number or the case of the noun head qualified by them, as in /ica roki khui/ one black dog, /ñizi roki khui-ku/ two black dogs, /sumu roki khui-re/ three black dogs. In these examples the modifier *roki* 'black' remains un-inflected for all the three numbers.

Some of the most frequently used adjectives belonging to this class are—/roki/ black, /mðŋgi/ red, /tiŋgi/ blue/green, /lei/ yellow, /sei/ white, /pheci/ small, /hðtig/ big, /thoi/ high, /ruki/ tall, /pelki/ fat, /ðli/ how much, how many?, /phoi/ a few, some, /yui/ old, /ñiši/ beautiful, /jabri/ enough, plenty, /troŋri/ hot, /soi/ cold, /ði/ other, another.

It may be interesting to note that all of the adjectives noted above end in /-i/. But there are a few more which do not fall in this pattern. These are—/bhðtte/ many, much, all; /mðste/ much, many, /aine/ much, /cuŋon/ some, /mðdðm/ bad, /ðuga/ deep, /toŋpa/ empty, /jðk/ dirty, /ðrub-ðre/ square, /jðŋ-jðŋ/ lazy, /tak-tak/ hard, /lom-lom/ soft?, /yaza-yoza/ slow, /doŋthro/ like that /di ŋthro/ like this etc. /cðl cðl/ round (small).

#### 4.2. Formation of Adjectives

Both types of adjectival stems, *viz.* basic and derived, are attested in Tinani. Adjectives of the former class are mono-morphemic and are not analysable into their constituent elements, but of the latter class are poly-morphemic and are analysable into their componential elements. Most of the adjectives denoting colour, size, quantity etc. are mono-morphemic. But there are some prefixo-suffixal devices too, by which different types of adjectives can be derived. Some of these may be explained as under:

- (i) /-cðŋe/: It is affixed to nominal stems to convey the sense of possessed of: /bemaçðŋe/ desert < /bema/ sand, /çðm-cðŋe/ hairy—/çðm/ hair,
- (ii) /tu/: It indicates a habitual action and is added to nominal stems: /hðspa-tu/ a liar < /hðspi/ a lie.

(iii) /-pa/ : It is also affixed to nominal stems, as in /nəḍ-pa/ sick < /nəḍ/ illness, /srei-pa/ shy < /srei/ shame, /təŋ-pa/ empty, (also see p. 152)

(iv) /-po/ : It is affixed to nominal stems: /son-po/ alive.

(v) /-na/ : Added to abstract nouns : /ser-na/ miser < /ser/ misery, /hyurna/ quick, quickly.

(vi) /-ku/ : Added to nominal stems: /cha-ku/ salted < /cha/ salt.

(vii) /ku/ is also [prefixed, as in /ku-gaṭhe/ ugly < /gaṭh/ appearance, /mə—/ : /məḍḍəm/ bad. = (mə not + ḍəm good).

(viii) /-re/ : Added to abstract nouns : /trotre/ hot < /trot/ heat.

(ix) /-ki/ : Added to verbal roots : /waski/ sweet < /wəs/, /kar-ki/ dry < /kar-/ to be dry, /wəca/ jolly < /wəpi/ to laugh.

(x) /-thro/ : Added to pronominal stems /di-thro/ like this /du-thro/ like that.

(xi) /la/ ~ /thəl/ : Added to numerals adjectives : aggregative and ordinal (see p. 152).

(xii) Reduplication : A very productive method : /sil-sil/ slippery; /jəṭ-jəṭ/ lazy, /lom-lom/ soft, /yaza-yoza/ slow, /tak tak/ hard, /dagdag/ bald.

(xiii) Adverb + verb : /tumunḍo/ first = /tui/ ahead + /munḍo/ to start, i.e. that starts ahead.

#### 4.3. Concord with the Noun Head

As pointed out above, in it no other class of adjectives, except the pronominal modifiers show an agreement with the noun head modified by them. There too it is confined to the inflection for numbers in the nominative case only, e.g. /dimi/ this man, /diku mi-ku/ these two men, /dire mi-re/ these men, but /dimizi/ by this man, /diku mi-ku-či/ by these two men, /di-re mi-reči ~ miči/ by these men, /di miu/ of this man, /di miu thəlzi/ for this man.

#### 4.4. Placement in the Syntactic Order

Contrary to Tibeto-Burman pattern, which is attested in Gahri and tod in this a modifier precedes the noun head it qualifies, as in /gye ica seu zamin/ I ate one apple, /gye don ie aine cījêre tângēi/ Having gone there I saw many things, /di gyu yuñ šu/ this is my brother.

In a noun phrase containing more than one modifier the order of different classes of modifiers is, more or less, fixed. Accordingly, a numeral modifier precedes a qualitative modifier /ram ica ñişi yoca šud/ Ram is a good boy. /ica kyuntı mi/ an old man.

In case of more than one qualitative modifier, specificatory modifiers always precede the general modifiers, as in /ica rukki dañiu grakh kyañ mi/ an old man with a long beard. /ica sii dañiu ði dag dag phyatâr grak kyañ mi/ an old man with white beard and bald head.

Adjective can be used as part of predicate as well, as in /di rân mângi toce/ this horse is a red one, /du yoca ñişi šud/ that boy is a gentle one.

#### 4.5. Degrees of Comparison

The system of indicating degrees of comparison is simple and non-flectional. Two terms viz. /bece~mâste/ more/, and /bhâtte/ most, many/, are prepositioned to the adjective in question to indicate its comparative and superlative degrees respectively, as in /ñişi/ good; /bece ñişi/ better; /bhâtte ñişi/ best; /hâtig/ big; /bece hâtig/ bigger; /bhâtte hâtig/ biggest; /inaku bicân ek-e mâste tagât bôr toce/ the sun is more powerful between us.

#### 4.6. Numerals

Besides the adjectives of the qualitative and quantitative classes there is a sub-category of adjectives as well which is called numeral adjectives. The formal sub-classes of this class of adjectives are—cardinals, ordinals, fractionals and aggregative.

(i) *Cardinals*: The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 1-20 are:

/ica/ one, /ñizi/ two, /sumu/ three, /pi/ four, /ña/ five, /trui/ six, /ñicce/ seven, /gyeidi/ eight, /ku/ nine, /sa/ ten, /saidi/ eleven, /sanizi/ twelve, /sasumu/ thirteen, /sapi/ fourteen, /sana/ fifteen, /satrui/ sixteen, /saničče/ seventeen, /sərgyedi/ eighteen, /sasku/ nineteen, /niza/ twenty.

From the above forms it is clear that numerals from one to ten are mono-morphemic and from eleven to twenty polymorphemic which are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs of the term for the ten as its first component and of those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of twenty it is reversed, i.e. it becomes 2, 10.

As in other languages of this group in it too the counting of higher numerals is based on twenty. Consequently, 21, is *nizu-idi*, 22 *nizu-ñizi*, (30), *nizu-sa* (20, 10), 39 *nizu-sasku* (20, 19), 40, *ni-niza* (2, 20), 41, *nizu-idi* (2, 20, 1), 60 *sumu-ñi-za* (3, 20), 61 *sumu-niza-u-idi* (3, 20, & 1), 70 *sumu-niza-sa* (3, 20, 10), 80 *pi-niza* (4, 20), 90 *pi-niza-sa* (4, 20, 10), and 100 is *ra*.

Numerals above hundred are counted by adding the specific numeral terms from 1-99 to the term for hundred in question with the connective particle *rəñ* and as in *ra rəñ sa* 110, *ra rəñ ni-nizu-sa* 150. Rounded figures of hundred are formed simply by suffixing the term *ra* to intended centurial number from 1-9, as in *sumu ra* 300.

(ii) *Ordinals*: The use of ordinals is not frequent in it, except for the first three terms which are attested as /tumundo/ first, /douthələñ/ second and /sumpa/ 3rd. Other terms if desired can be formed by adding—/thələñ/ or /-pa/ to the numeral terms in question, as in /ku-pa/ 9th, /sa-pa/ 10th.

(iii) *Aggregatives*: Aggregatives are formed by affixing *-la* to the numeral concerned, as in /ñizi-la/ both, /sumu-la/ all the three, /ña-la/ all the five, etc.

(iv) *Fractionals*: The commonly used fractionals in Tinani are /paw/ 1/4, /phyed/ 1/2, /ica rəñ phyed/ 1. 1/2 (one and a half) /ñizi rəñ phyed/ 2.1/2, terms like 1/3, 2/3, 3/4 are not used.



## 5. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system in Tinani, like Patṭani is very rich, particularly from the point of its inflection rarely met with in any I.A. or Tibeto-Burman languages. It involves the distinctive categories of tense, mood, number and person.

### 5.1. Classification of Verb Roots

All the verb roots, except a few loans from the I.A., are primary ones. On the basis of casual forms taken by them for their subject and object or on the syntactic distinction of having a second noun, other than the subject noun as the legitimate object of the verb concerned and exhibiting a particular case form or standing in a particular position in the sentence these roots can be grouped as transitive and intransitive. Accordingly, the most distinguishing feature of transitive verbs is this that the subject of the verb belonging to this class is invariably in the ergative case, whereas that of the intransitive verb is in the nominative or direct case.

### 5.2. Conjugational System

Basically a verb in Tinani is conjugated for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, and mood only. In a colloquial speech it hardly makes any distinction for aspectual categories, both the aspects : progressive and non-progressive, are expressed with indicative tense forms of the verb concerned, e.g. /iwa/ he goes, /is going; /il/ he went /was going, /ilto/ he will go /he will be going. /gye iṅgu kyumuring ṣibitog/ I am going /go to my home. In this it is only the perfective aspect which is expressed by means of certain suffixes or periphrastic constructions, as in /kə dōlle khyān imin/ where had you gone just now? /du ḍllyacəṇ diṇ ḍmin/ he had come here just now. /gye ipheṇ ili/ I have gone to sleep.

### 5.3. Temporal Conjugation

On the basis of different sets of tense suffixes three distinctive temporal categories, viz. present, past and future, are

attested in it. Each set of these comprises eight morphemes representing three persons and three numbers mentioned above. For, the dual and the plural formatives of the second person have assumed identical forms in all the tenses. It may also be pointed out that the suffixal elements of the third person dual and the plural are identical with the number markers of the nominal and pronominal stems.

#### 5.4. Mechanism of Tense Formation

In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of various temporal suffixes, which usually incorporate number and person suffixes as well. As such the usual order of various constituents in a finite verbal form is—root+tense marker+person and number suffixes. In some cases the root is partially replaced in the past and future tense conjugations.

#### 5.5. Person-number Suffixes

In Tinani, like Pātṭani, all verbal roots are conjugated for 3 persons and 3 numbers, though, as pointed out above, the total number of distinctive forms is 8 only (*i.e.* 3rd person 3+2nd person 2+1st person 3). However, in all the cases these suffixes are appended to the tense and mood markers which follow the verbal stem rather than the verb root.

#### 5.6. Subject Incorporation

In this scheme of conjugation the singular person-number markers of the 1st and the second persons represent the pronominal subject of the verb as well in their reduced forms. Usually, it is /-g/ in the 1st person and /-n/ in the second person and absence of these indicates the 3rd person: /il-to/ he will go, /il-to-n/ thou wilt go, /il-to-g/ I will go. /il-to-ñi/ we will go, /le-i/ he did, /le-i-n/ thou didst, /le-i-g/ I did, /pəṛippitog/ I am reading, /ibi-ton/ you, are going.

#### 5.7. Verb Substantive

There are two sets of verb substantives in Tinani, one of them, *viz.* *kupi* indicates a general capulative sense and the

other *toči* a specific sense of existence. The latter is also used as an aux. in the sense of 'to have' and is regularly inflected as an auxiliary in the conjugation of all finite verbs. The difference in their uses may be seen in the following expressions: /gye šuka/ I am, /gye min ram šu/ my name is Ram, but /gye diññe totog/ I am here itself. It is similar to that of Sanskrit roots  $\sqrt{as}$ -to be and  $\sqrt{v\bar{r}t}$ -to be.

### 5.8. Present Tense

The present tense, in Tinani, besides the usual present indefinite or indicative sense also denotes an action in progress in the present time, which is technically termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action, e.g. /zəwa/ means (he) cast /is eating/ is in the habit of eating, /kəði khye zeiton/ what are you eating/ what do you eat?

The inflectional base of the present indefinite is the bare root itself, obtained after dropping the final vowel of the infinitive, e.g. *əmpī* to come > *əmp-*, *ləzi* to do > *ləz-*, *rən̄ri* to give > *rən̄r-*—etc. and different forms for respective numbers and persons are obtained by affixing respective person-number suffixes to it. The formative suffixes added to the root in this context are as under:

	Sg.	du	pl.
3rd person	-ə/a	-ku/-toku	-re/-tore
2nd person	-na/-ton	-či/-toči	-či/-toči
1st person	-ka/-tog	-ši/-toši	-ñi/-toñi

5.8.1. *Distribution of allomorphs*: The distribution of above noted allomorphs of different persons and numbers is as follows: the first set of allomorphs is affixed to the inflected forms of the verb substantive *šupi* 'to be', of the finite verbs in the past and the second set to all the finite verbs in the present and to the existential verb *toči* 'to exist', to become' (for examples see model conjugation).

## 5.9. Static Present

However, the sense of static present or traditionally termed as present perfect continuous, is expressed through periphrastic construction by adding the desired form of the auxiliary to the past participle form of the main verb, as in /gye iphsəñ ili/ I am slept (=I have gone to sleep), /du dokʃi toce/ he is slept (=he slept become), /du zoki toce/ he is seated, /di khye ləʃi toton/ what have (you) done this? /ririn soti bingə ilza/ fields are filled with water. The use of the present tense is also attested in the context of immediate future or in the sense of non-obligatory 'have to' as in /gye tog kyumrin ibi tog/ I am going home today, /gye munton Simla ibitog/ I have to go to Shimla tomorrow, /kədin əlle əmpiton/ when will you come here=when are you coming here? It is also used to convey the sense of the present perfect, as in /du soti hānci iya/ he has gone to fetch water.

## 5.10. Past Tense

As in the present tense, in the past tense too, the different inflected forms, besides the indefinite/indicative sense, denote its progressive aspect as well. It also denotes the habit of doing an action in the past or completion of an action at some point in the past.

The inflectional base of the past tense is obtained by partially replacing the inflectional base of the present tense. There are no uniform patterns of replacement, however, in all the cases the stem vowel, alongwith its onset margin is retained and the coda margin is replaced. It is also the imperative base of the verb concerned. The person-number suffixes added to the imperative stem are as under:

	Sg.	Du-	pl.
3rd person	stem + i	+ -i-ku	+ -i-re
2nd person	stem + i-n	+ -i-či	+ -i-či
1st person	stem + i-g	+ -i-ši	+ -i-ñi

(for examples see model conjugations).

Besides the above forms with aux.  $\sqrt{toci}$  are also attested, as in /thakitag/ I broke, /həŋkitag/ I brought, /kukitag/ I said.

### 5.11. Impersonal Past

Besides the past indefinite there are impersonal or indeclinable past tense forms which are freely used to convey the sense of simple past, past perfect or present perfect. It is obtained by suffixing /-min/ ~ /-men/ to the initial syllable of the root of the verb. Various uses of this form may be illustrated by the following sentences.

/doi gyeriŋ bəgəɬ rəmin~rəni/ he gave me food.

/gye doriŋ khorə həmin/ I brought/have brought a cap for him.

/kə khyan imin/ where had you gone?

/dore eki diŋ~əmin/ they came/had come here yesterday.

/ñene dotiŋ zopiriŋ kumen/ we asked them to sit.

/gye bəgəɬ zemin/ I ate/have eaten food.

Besides, a few periphrastic constructions, too are possible to differentiate various shades of meanings in the past, as in /ñene roz əmpa lesi tori/ we used to come daily.

### 5.12. Future Tense

In Tinani the use of the future tense like Paṭṭani is varied. Beside denoting the sense of absolute future or the progress of an action taking place in future, its important function is to serve as an optative or imperative for the 3rd and the 1st persons, signifying something desirable or proper or should or ought to be done. It also denotes the possibility or condition of an action taking place in future, including the possibility or repetition of particular action in future or a possibility of an action that might have taken place in the past, of course, in the forms of an auxiliary; e.g. /du zəmin zei ləgi ki šuto/ possibly he may be taking food, /doci kəɬ kosi šutore/ they may have finished the work, /kəi kuši šuton/ you may have said.

The flectional base of the future tense, like that of the past tense is obtained by dropping the imperative suffix /-a/. To this are added the tense-person-number markers which are as follows:

	Sg.	du.	pl.
3rd person	-to/-tu	-toku/-tuku	-tore/-ture
2nd person	-ton/-tân	-toči/-tâči	-toči/-tâči
1st person	-tog/-tâg	-toši/-tâši	-toñi/-tâñi.

5.12.1 *Distribution of Allomorphs*: With regard to the distribution of the above sets no clear cut rules could be formulated. Some verbs like, *šubi* to be, *âmpi* to come, *ibi* to go, take the first set while verbs like *lâzi* to do, *kuři* to say, *râñri* to give' take the second set. Semantically, the first groups belongs to the intransitive class and the second to transitive.

### 5.13. Passivization

Like other languages of this group, Tinani does not favour passive constructions. In transitive verbs the inherent use of the ergative case for the subject is enough to meet the requirement of passive constructions. In it all the expressions with a passive structure are rendered as active ones. e.g. sentences like /gyu don-ze di bâgât zeî târsim maca/ this food cannot be eaten by me or /gyu don-ze ips lâzi târsim maca/ the act of sleeping cannot be done by me etc. are rendered as /gye di bâgât zeî mare/ I cannot eat this food or /gye ips lezi mare/ I cannot sleep, etc. Similary, 'this letter may not be read by me' will be rendered as 'I am unable to read this letter' or 'I cannot read this letter' (/di âak gye pârikpi mare/).

### 5.14. Transitivity

As in other languages of this group in this too there is no inbuilt mechanism for deriving transitive stems from intransitive roots or vice-versa, as such in it a native verb stem is either transitive or intransitive. The native feature of having separate roots for transitive and intransitive verbs may be

illustrated by the following sets of verbal roots:

khəŋtʃi	to see	:	kəñči	to show
kəʀphi	to dry	:	kəʀči	to make dry
ʃibi	to die	:	ʃəči	to kill
tuŋbi	to drink	:	pilači	to make drink
dagphi	to be broken	:	yamči	to break
zei	to eat	:	khəwalči	to feed
dospi	to sleep	:	sipči	to make to sleep
dədpi	to fall	:	thəči	to fell

But in a few cases, besides the use of distinct roots some borrowed transitive or causative stems from the I.A. dialects are also used. Moreover, the verb root *ləzi* to do or *rəŋtʃi* to give is also employed with the intransitive roots to affect the transitive sense of it, e.g. /phəŋm-mi/ to fly : /phəŋm-mi ləzi/ to make to fly; /wəpi/ to laugh: /wəpi ləzi/ to make to laugh; /kyor-mi/ to dance: /kyormi-ləzi/ to make to dance; /lem-zi/ to shine; /lem-zi ləzi/ to make to shine, /zei/ to eat /bəgət rəŋtʃa/ to feed /tuŋ-bi/ to drink /soti rəŋtʃa/ to give water etc. In fact, this construction may better be designated as first causative rather than a transitive. However, there are a few instances in which the mechanism of phonetic changes from intransitive to transitive and vice-versa is also attested. In consonants of the stem it is attested in the form of voiced vs. voiceless and in the formative suffixes in the form of bilabial vs. palatal or sibilant vs. palatal affricate, as in /jalphi/ to split: /čalči/ to tear: /byampi/ to hide oneself: /pyamči/ to hide; /thigzi/ to spread: /thigči/ to spread (trans); /kəʀphi/ to be dried: /kəʀči/ /poši/ to be drenched: /poči/ to soak in water: /tubsi/ to burn: /tup-či/ to kindle; /dagphi/ to be broken: /thagči/ to break; /khəŋtʃi/ to see: /kəñtʃi/ to show (a case of deaspiration).

#### 5.14. Causativization

The device employed for causative formations is similar to that as explained with regard to transitivization. Normally,

these languages do not prefer the use of second causative. This purpose is served by their transitive or first causative forms itself or by changing the mode of expression from causative to active, e.g. he gets the work done from the child' will be rendered as 'he asks the child to do the work'. However, if necessary, it can be obtained by adding respective forms of the verb *l̥zi* to do, to the transitive root of the verb concerned.

tupči	to burn/to kindle	:	/tupči l̥zi	to make to kindle.
khwalči	to feed	:	/khwalči l̥zi	to make a feed.
l̥zi	to do	:	/l̥zi l̥zi	to get to done
ceči	to write	:	/ceči l̥zi	to get written
kuči	to speak	:	/kuči l̥zi	to make to speak
š̥či	to kill	:	/š̥či lozi	to get killed.

The latest trend among speakers having close contact with I.A. tongues is to borrow I.A. causative stems for this purpose, e.g. /tunbi/ to drink /pilači/ to make to drink; /h̥n̥či/ to bring; /m̥gači/ to ask some one to bring; /zei/ to eat; /kh̥walči/ to feed; /p̥rikphi/ to read, /p̥raiči/ to teach, etc. Certain demonstrative formations like—/k̥maici/ to earn; /th̥geg̥tri/ to cheat; /sunaiči/ to tell, to narrate; etc. are also attested now and then.

### 5.15. Compound Constructions

As stated above, in this language most of the verb roots are basic or primary. As such there is little scope for secondary or derived stems, except for a few denominative ones. However, there are some cases in which periphrastic constructions, involving verbal and non-verbal elements, are also attested, e.g. /goñ goñ l̥zi/ to bend, to kneel, /phu l̥zi/ to blow from mouth, /b̥g̥d̥ l̥zi/ to cook, /k̥s̥m̥ l̥zi/ to swear, /git kuṭri/ to sing, /gha keṭri/ to beat.

Like Hindi in it too there are many composite verbal expressions which are conveyed with the help of compound verbs. principal + auxiliary. Normally, the auxiliaries used



in such cases are /cârçi/ to send; /ibi/ to go, /rêntri/ to give. In these constructions, the grammatical categories are taken by the aux. and the principal verb is in its conjunctive form, as in /rânge certo/ I will give (=given will send), /gye ônci iltog/ will go (I having come will go, /du pokke ili/ he had gone, =he went, /kurci ônta/ bring (=bring+come), /zopi rânû/ let remain (=sit+give), /dake ili/ broken (=break+went), /gye ibi rânû/ let me go (=go+give), /di kâm lăke cārtu/ do this work, etc.

### 5.16. Negative Sub-system

In Tinani, the negative sub-system is operative with regard to verbal forms involving verb substantives in the present tense and in future tense only. In other tenses the use of the negative particle does not bring about any structural change in the verb form. This feature of Tinani may be illustrated as follows:

/ram ica nîşi yoca şud/ Ram is a good boy.

/ram ica nîşi yoca mêşu/ Ram is not a good boy.

/khye di kônu yun şuda?/ Is this your younger brother?

/khye di kônu yun mêşu?/ Is this not your younger brother?

/diñ ôre toto?/ who is here?

/diñ ôrrela măcere/ there is no one here.

Otherwise there is no change.

/du kyumuriñ ilto/ he will go home.

/du kyumuriñ melto (ma+ilto) he will not go home.

/kyumuriñ ila/ go home.

/kyumuriñ thela/ (=thə+ila) do not go home.

The examples of structural changes in the future tense forms are as under:

/gye doriñ kuṭri mōrōñ/ I will not allow (give) him to speak.

Otherwise /gye rāntag/ I will give. Also /doi ibi tōrpa/ he

can go, but /doi ibi mare/ he cannot go, /gye doñ ibim t̄rig/ I can go there, but /gye doñ ibi mare/ I cannot go there.

### 5.17. Moods and Model Verbs

Besides the temporal conjugation there are other categories of verbal conjugation that are inflected partially for a particular mood or mental state of the speaker and for a particular point of time; some of these attested in our data are as under:

(i) *Imperative* (Ordinary or polite): Imperative, ordinary or polite, has only one form applicable to the second person and the present tense only. There is no separate future imperative in it. The suffixes in the conjugation of this mood are:

	Sg.	du.	pl.
(i)	-a	-ač̣i	-a-č̣i
(ii)	-u	-č̣i	-č̣i
(iii)	-u	-t̄ri	-t̄ri

*Inflectional Base and the Distribution of Allomorphs:* These imperative markers are added to the inflectional base of somewhat unpredictable nature which in itself forms the base for the past and the future conjugation of the verb concerned. Similarly, the phonetic environments for the occurrence of different sets of allomorphs too are not very clear. Roughly, the first set is attested with stems ending in a consonant, as in /il-a/ go (sg.): /il-a-č̣i/ go (du.); /il-a-č̣i/ go (pl.), /ənt-a/ come (sg.): /ənt-a-č̣i/ 'come (du.): /ənt-a-č̣i/ (pl.).

The second set is attested with stems ending in a vowel, as in /l̄ə -u/ do (sg.): /l̄ə -č̣i/ do (du.): /l̄ə-č̣i/ do (pl.); /zo-u/ sit (sg.): /zo-č̣i/ sit (du.): /zo-č̣i/ sit (pl.); /ñiñi k̄əm l̄əč̣i/ do good deeds.

The third set is attested with verbs having /-t̄ri/ as their infinitive marker, as in /r̄əñ-gu/ give (sg.): /r̄əñ-gu-t̄ri/ give (du.): /r̄əñ-gu-t̄ri/ give (pl.), /kur-u/ say (sg.): /ku-t̄ri/ say (du.): /ku-t̄ri/ say (pl.).

(ii) *Prohibitive Imperative*: The prohibitive imperative is formed by prefixing the prohibitive negative particle *thə* to the ordinary imperative form with necessary morphophonemic changes, e.g. /*thənta*/ don't come (sg.): /*thəntači*/ don't come (du & pl.), /*thela*/ (*thə*+*ila*) don't go: /*thela-či*/ (du & pl.); /*thə-ləu*/ don't do: /*thə-rəngu*/ don't give etc.

In case of compound constructions the imperative markers are affixed to the auxiliary verbs, as in /*di diññe zopi rəngu*/ leave this at this very place; /*kə diñ-ze ɔnce ila*/ you go away from here; /*ʃyabe gyeriñ ibi rəngu*/ please let me go; /*di kəm ləke cərtu*/ better do finish the work.

(ii) *Subjunctive*: The formative suffixes of the subjunctive or the first person imperative are attested as under:

	Sg.	du	pl
(i)	-ka	- <i>šia</i>	- <i>ñia</i>
(ii)	-ga	- "	- "

*Inflectional Base and Distribution of Allomorphs*: The inflectional base of this mood too is the root itself, to which are added the above noted affixes. No predictable phonetic environments are attested for the occurrence of these alternate allomorphs in the singular number, both being voiced voiceless variants of the same morph. The allomorph /-ga/ is attested with the roots ending in a vowel or a nasal consonant, and /-ka/ with others as in /i-ga/ may I go: /il-*šia*/ should we (2) go?; /il-*ñia*/ should we (pl.) go? /*ɔñka*/ should I come: /*ɔñ-sia*/ should we (2) come?: /*ɔññia*/ should we come.

As in imperative the negative forms of this mood are expressed with the prohibitive negative marker *thə*, allowing all usual morphophonemic adjustments, as in /*thənta*/ should I not come?, /*thega*/ should I not go?

(iv) *Optative*: In Tinani use of optative mood is mostly confined to the expression of mode of desirability. Literally standing for the semantic connotation of 'is necessary' or 'ought to be': /*kə niñ doñ hinki-ibi ʃud*/ you should have

gone there. lit. it was necessary for you to go there, /doriñ diñ ðmpī hiñki šud/ he should have come here, /enaktiñ ibi hiñki šud/ we should go. lit. it is necessary for us to go there.

(v) *Conditional/contingent mood*: In the use of this mood the verb in the subordinate clause is placed in conjunctive participle and in the principal clause in the past tense.

/kə iyðñ tə gye la ilig kəʈe/

Had you gone, then I would also have gone.

/du ðñkyðñ tə ñişi šui kəʈe/

(If) he had come then so nice it would have been.

*Inflectional base*: The inflectional base of the verb of the subordinate clause is the indeclinable conjunct participle form to which the formative suffix /ðñ/ is added and principal clause in the past tense followed by the aux. /kəʈe/. In this the main verb is inflected for all persons and numbers according to its subject.

However, a condition, expressing the fulfilment of the action in future is expressed with absolute future forms in both the clauses, as in /kə il-ton gye la il-tog/ (If) you go, I will also go.

(vi) *Compulsive aspect*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed with verbal noun+respective conjugated forms of the verb, /pəʈikčē/ had to: /doriñ ʔcanēk ibi pəʈikti/~/pəʈittic/ he had to: go all of a sudden; /gyðriñ doñ ibi pəʈitti/ I had to go there, /kəñiñ zeie pəʈitto/ you will have to eat.

(vii) *Permissive*: The permissive sense is expressed by placing the prothesis in the present tense and the apodosis in the simple future:

/doči khyena hiñkyel lətore/ they may do, whatever they want (=lit. will do) or with the verb /tərci/: /doi ʔmpim təri/ he can/may came.

(viii) *Obligative*: The obligatory sense of performing some action in future is expressed with the help of the auxiliaries šubi to be or toci to have, preceded by the principal verb in

the verbal noun form.

/gye ica ɖak cecim totog/ tɔtag/ I have to write a letter.

/doi khɔmze cɔkcim toto/ he has to wash clothes.

/doi gyu ɖɔba rɛnɛm tɔri~tɔto/ he owes money to me.

/doriɛ diɛ ɔmpi ʃui/ he has to come here.

/ɲene doɛ ibim totoɲi/ we have to go there.

(ix) *Abilitative*: The ability of a doer in respect of an action is expressed with the verb *tɔrci* or *rebi* 'can, to be capable of', etc. added to the verbal noun:

/gye ibim tɔrig/ I can go/ I am capable of going.

/doi diɛ ɔmpim tɔri/ he is capable of coming here.

/kɔnu butte zeɪ tɔrsim mato/ you will not be able to eat.

(x) *Wish/Desire*: The verb *tɔrci* besides ability, also expresses a simple wish or desire on the part of the doer of an action, /gye ibim tɔrig/ I wish to go; /gye lɔzim tɔrig/ I wish to do; /doi rɛnɛrim tɔri/ he wants to give.

But it is also expressed with verbs *peɣri/hinci* to want, to desire, as in /doi zeɪ peɣra~hinca/ he wants to eat, /doi ɔmpi peɣra~hinca/ he wants to come.

Besides, it is also expressed with simple tense form of the principal verb, as in /gye dospitog/ I wish to sleep, I am sleeping. /gye ibi tog/ I wish to go/ I am going.

(xi) *Necessity/Advisability*: The sense of necessity or advisability is expressed with the verb *hinɛi* 'to wish, to want, is necessary', followed by the verb substantive, as in /enaktiɛ ibi hinki ʃud/ we (excl.) should go=it is advisable for us to go, /di dus lɔkicɔrti hinki tore/ (it is necessary for us that) we should complete this work, /pɔɣippiriɛ kɔtabɔɣe himpi/ book is necessary for reading, /kɔniɛ doɛ ibi hinke ʃud/ you should have gone there. It was necessary [for you to go there. The simple tense forms of the verb *hinci* are also used for this, as in /kɔi khye hinciton/ what do you want, /gye ibi hincitog/

I want to go, /doi zei hinca/ he wants to eat, /doi kyorbi hincitore/ they want to play/ dance.

(xii) *Possibility/Probability*: Probability of an action is expressed with aux. *šubi* or *toci* which follow the conjunctive participle form of the main verb /du zðmi zei lðgiki šuto/ he may be busy in eating food, /doi kðm kosi šutore/ they may have done the work, /kði kuši šuton/ you may have said; /dore ðtišuda bhàtte kðm lðzi lðgiki totore/. They may have completed total work by now.

(xiii) *Simultaneity*: The simultaneity of an action is expressed by adding /rðñ ñampo/ to the verbal noun form of the verb expressing the action that took place first, as in /gye dou ðmpirðñ ñampo ðnce imin/ I left as soon as he came, /du gye tancirðñ ñampo pokkeili/ he ran away on seeing me, /nðñca guřñ-ze dðpirðñ ñampo dake ili/ the pitcher went to pieces as soon as it fell from the hand, /du zei rðñ ñampo e ðnce ili/ he went away as soon as he took his meals, /ðnaktiñ khðñtri rðñ ñampo krapì tharik siri/ (she) started weeping on seeing us, /gye doriñ khðñtri rðñ ñampoe sekse cðrtig/ I recognized him as soon as I saw him.

### 5.18. Verbal Derivatives

Various non-finite verbal forms, viz. participles, infinitives, verbal nouns, adverbials etc. are regularly formed from verbal stems with the help of various primary suffixes. They all belong to the category of indeclinables and are non-personal too, various types of suffixes employed to construct these non-finite verbal derivatives and their functions may be described as under:

(1) *Infinitive*: An infinitive is obtained by suffixing various suffixes to the verb root. There are no phonetically conditioned environments for their occurrence. The formatives attested in this context are as follows:

(i) /-či/: It is the most common suffix attested with all types of roots, as in /ðlči/ to open, /kurči/ to lift/ cðkči/ to

wash, /kyuč/ to call, /ceč/ to write, /yuč/ to grind, /lanč/ to sell.

(ii) /-tʁi/: It is the next commonly attested suffix of infinitives, as in /khəntʁi/ to see, /kəntʁi/ to show, /ketʁi/ to place, /rəntʁi/ to give, /kutʁi/ to say.

(iii) /-pi/: It is attested with intrans. roots—/kəɾ-pi/ to be dry, /gəɾ-pi/ to dance, /kra-pi/ to weep, /təɾ-pi/ can, /dos-pi/ to sleep, /dəd-pi/ to fall, /əm-pi/ to come.

(iv) /-bi/: It is a voiced variant of /-pi/, as in /tun-bi/ to drink, /phəm-bi/ to fly /kyor-bi/ to play, /ši-bi/ to die, /i-bi/ to go, /šu-bi/ to be.

(v) /-zi/: It seems to be the voiced variant of /ši/ and is attested with limited roots only, as in /lə-zi/ to go; /ri-zi/ to listen, /kəd-lə-zi/ to call loudly, /wəpi-ləzi/ to laugh.

(vi) /-i/: It too has a limited occurrence: as in /zei/ to eat.

(vii) /-ši/: Occurrence of this formative is attested with a few stems only, as in /gwakši/ to embrace. /kyo-ši/ to be ripe, /po-ši/ to get wet.

(viii) /-phi/: It is an intransitive counterpart of /-pi/, e.g. /kəɾ-phi/ to be dry, /nig-phi/ to tremble, dag-phi/ to be broken, /zat-phi/ to be split.

As a verbal noun an infinitive can function as a complement or an object to a finite verb, as in /gyering kyorbi ŋiši əŋki totog/ I love to play, /gye khyə rəntʁi hiŋci tog/ I want to give something, /doi gyeriŋ sunaice hiŋca/ he wants to narrate something to me; /du krapɪ ʃhariksiri/ he/she started weeping.

(ii) *Verbal noun*: A verbal noun or gerund which, usually, has the force of a logical object of a verb or a semantic correlation with an accusative-dative case is formed by adding /-m/ to the infinitive, though the infinitive alone too has the same force, e.g. /ceč/ to write/ for writing/ cečim/ for writing, /cakč/~/cakčim/ to wash/washing, /ləzi~/ləzim/ to do/doing. There are a few verbs which affix /-min/ instead of /-m/. They

are-/krapi/ to weep: /kramin/ weeping, /zei/ to eat: /zeimin/ eating, also /zəmin/; /tuñbi/ to drink: /tuñmin/ drinking.

In this use the infinitive form can be followed by the acc.-dative marker /-riñ/ and the other form by the post-position /thəlzi/ 'for' as in /ñene dotiñ zopi-riñ~zopim thəlzi kumin/ we asked them to sit/ for sitting, /doi ñentan θpi-riñ~θmin thəlzi kukya/ he asked us to come/ for coming; /pəŋippi-riñ kətabəre hāmpi/ books are necessary for reading; /du rəñci-riñ aine tej toce/ he is quite efficient in weaving, /du θmči-riñ-tej toce/ he is fast in walking.

(iii) *Present participle*: The present participle is derived by adding /-tər/~/-toro/ to the verb stem or verbal noun:

/gərpi-tər/ dancing, /tuñbi-tər/ drinking, /phəmbi-tər/~  
/-toro/ flying, /kyorbi-tər/ playing, /zei-tər/eating, /krapi-tər/~  
/-toro/ weeping: /gye du iltər təŋga/ I saw him going, but this  
very idea is expressed with simple infinitive form as well, as in  
/gye du ibi təŋga/ I saw him going.

Present participles, having the force of an adverb are formed variously, e.g. /gye rat pure ta.ze goig/ I remained awakened for the whole night; /du zərək rəmba rombca diñ θmin/ he came running here, /gye zəua leig/ I continued eating.

(iv) *Past participle*: The past/perfect participle is formed by adding /-ši/ to the verb root, as in -/ku-ši/ said<kuŋri to say, /cək-ši/ washed, /ce-ši/ written, /ze-ši/ eaten, /ra-ši/ given< rəñŋri to give, /pha-ši/ flown<phəmbi to fly, /tuñ-ši/ drunk.

A few roots take /-ki/ instead of /-ši/, e.g. /kar-ki/ dried< kərpi to be dry, /dak-ki/ broken<dakpi to break.

The stems ending in a vowel also take /e/, as in /deriñ iye əli gya ŋui/ how many days have passed since he went.

(v) *Conjunct participle*: The formative suffixes of this participle are /-ge, -ke, -se, -e/. Their distribution is as follows:

(i) /ge/ is affixed to consonant ending stems other than in /-k/, e.g. /θl-ge-/ having opened<θlci to open, /kəŋge/ having shown<kəñŋri to show, /tuñ-ge/ having drunk, /rəñ-ge/ having given, /kyor-ge/ having played.



(ii) /-kye/~/-ke/: It occurs with stems ending in vowels or in /k/, as in /kukke/ having said <ku-ʔri to say; /cəʔk-ke/ having washed <cəʔk-či to wash; /thak-ke/ having broken <thak-či, /ləʔkke/ having done <ləʔzi to do. But there are some exceptions as well, as in /kur-ke/ having lifted <kur-či to lift; /gəʔr-ke/ having danced <gəʔrphi to dance; /krap-ke/ having wept <krapɪ to weep; /dos-ke/ having slept.

(iii) /-se/: This suffix is attested only in one case, i.e. with the verb /gwakɕi/ to embrace > /gwakse/ having embraced.

(iv) /-e/: Occurrence of this suffix is attested with stems ending in /-e/, /-i/, as in /ce-e/ having written, /zə-e/ having eaten, /ʃi-e/ having died.

(v) /-khe/: It is a variant of /-ke/ and is attested with stems which take /-phi/ instead of /-pi/ as their infinitive suffix, as in /kəʔr-khe/ having dried <kəʔr-phi to be dry, /zik-phe/ having trembled <zig-phi to tremble, /zat-khe/ having split <zat-phi to be split.

Some of the syntactic usages of this participle are:

/doi phete sukkye zəmin zeɪ ləʔgiti/

he ate while he was still lying down.

/du cəʔkkəʔn zokkye prei ləʔgiti tori/

he went on speaking while still seated.

/gye rat pure ta.ze goig/

I remained awakened for the whole night.

/du zəʔrk əʔn-ge e zoi/

he did continue running.

/du wəʔk-ke-e zoi/

he did continue laughing.

/sida ənce ila/

continue going straight.

/kəʔi zəmin zee ila/

you go after taking meals.

(fut. imp.)

/du dəllə ɪpsəʔn-ze ənciya/ he has just got up after having slept.

/gye ʃuze-saze əntog/ I will go after having taken bath.

/doʔn iye aine ciʔəre təʔreʔni/ we show many things after going there.

/gye doñ ðñke kðntag/ I will tell after coming there.

/ditro ðñke zoči/ having come here sit down.

/pðlmu tuñge ila/ go after drinking milk.

(vi) *Adverbial Participle*: There are certain types of verbal derivatives which in some way modify the verb in syntactic constructions. These derivatives have been designated as adverbial participles.

/kðm lðppa lðppa phi sukei ili/

while doing work it has become late.

/doipðkaippa lei ñene zewa leiñi/

he went on cooking and we went on eating.

/du kðm lðppa leza/ we goes on working.

/ðlig tðci krðpa zoton/ for how long will you go on weeping.

### 5.19. Model Conjugation

(i) *šubi/ šupi* to be (verb substantive)

#### *Present Tense*

	sg.	du	pl.
3rd person	šu	šuku	šure
2nd person	šuna	šuči	šuči
1st person	šuka	šuši	šuñi

#### *Past perfect (distant past)*

All persons	šumin	šumin	šumin
or	šuic	šuiku	šuire

#### *Future tense*

3rd person	šutto	šuttoku	šuttore
2nd person	šutton	šuttoči	šuttoči
1st person	šuttog	šuttoši	šuttoñi

Alternative forms of *šubi* as/ *šud/* (present/ and *šui/* (past) are also attested.

(ii) *toci*, to exist, to become or to have.

*Present tense*

3rd person	toto/təta	toloku/tətaku	totore/tətare
2nd person	toton/təton	totoči/tətači	totoci/tətači
3rd person	totog/tətog	totosi/tətoši	totoñi/tətañi

In colloquial speech the following forms are also attested:

3rd person	toce	toceku	tocere
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*Past tense (ordinary)*

3rd person	tori	toriku	torire
2nd person	torina	toriči	toriči
1st person	torig	toriši	toriñi

Besides periphrastic forms like /šukkye ibi/ 'become' are also attested, as in /ñiləm meu ʔoktiñ keʔrirəñ ñampo cace šukkye ibi/ iron becomes hot when placed on fire, /du khəʔe khəʔe behoš šukkye ili/ he became unconscious while he was still standing.

(iii) /əmpi/ to come.

*Present tense*

	sg.	du.	pl.
3rd person	əmpa	əmpi-toku	əmpi-rore
2nd person	əmpi-ton	əmpitoči	əmpi-toči
1st person	əmpi-tog	əmpi-toši	əmpi-toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	ənti	ənti-ku	ənti-re
2nd person	əntin	ənti-či	ənti-či
1st person	ənti-g	ənti-ši	ənti-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	ənto	əuto-ku	ənto-re
2nd person	ənto-n	ənto-či	ənto-či
1st person	ənto-g	ənto-ši	ənto-ñi
Imperative	ənta	əntači	əntači
Prohibitive	thənta	thəntači	thənta-či
Subjunctive	əñka?	əñšia?	əñhia?

(iv) /ibi/ to go

*Present tense*

3rd person	iwa/iya	ibi-toku	ibi-tore
2nd person	ibi-ton	ibi-toči	ibi-toči
1st person	ibi-tog	ibi-toši	ibi-toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	ili	ili-ku	ili-re
2nd person	ilin	ili-či	ili-či
1st person	ilig	iliši	ili-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	il-to	il-toku	il-tore
2nd person	il-ton	il-toči	il-toči
1st person	ilig	iliši	ili-ñi
Imperative	il-a	ila-či	ila-či
Prohibitive	thela	thela-či	thela-či
Subjunctive	iga?	il-šia?	il-ñia?

(v) /lɔzi/ to do

*Present tense*

3rd person	lɔza	lɔz-toku	lɔz-tore
2nd person	lɔz-ton	lɔz-toči	lɔz-toči
1st person	lɔz-tog	lɔz-toši	lɔz-toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	le-i	lei-ku	lei-re
2nd person	le-in	le-i-či	le-i-či
1st person	leig	le-i-ši	le-i-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	lā-ttu	lā-ttu-ku	lāttu-re
2nd person	lā-ttān	lā-ttāči	lā-ttā-či
1st person	lā-ttāg	lā-ttā-ši	lā-ttāñi
<i>Imperative</i>	lāu	lāči	lāči
<i>Subjunctive</i>	lākka?	lāšia?	lāñia?
<i>Prohibitive</i>	thā-lāu	—	—

(vi) /rāntri/ to give

*Present tense*

3rd person	rāntra	rāntri-toku	rāntri-tore
2nd person	rāntri-ton	tāntri-toči	rāntri-toči
1st person	rāntritog	rāntri-toši	rāntri-toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	rān-i	rān-i-ku	rān-i-re
2nd person	rān-i-n	rān-i-či	rān-i-či-
1st person	rānig	rān-i-ši	rān-i-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	rān-ṭu	rān-ṭu-ku	rān-ṭu-re
2nd person	rān-ṭā.n	rān-ṭā-či	rān-ṭā-či
1st person	rān-ṭug	rān-ṭāši	rān-ṭāñi
<i>Imperative</i>	rāngu	rāngutri	rāngutri
<i>Prohibitive</i>	thā-rāngu		
<i>Subjunctive</i>	rānga?	rānt šia?	rānt ñia?

(vii) /kuṭri/ to say

*Present tense*

3rd person	kuṣa	kuṣ-toku	kuṣ-tore
2nd person	kus-ton	kus-toči	kus-toči
1st person	kus-tog	kus-toši	kus-toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	kuṣi	kuṣi-ku	kuṣi-re
2nd person	kuṣi-n	kuṣi-či	kuṣi-či
1st person	kuṣi-g	kuṣi-ši	kuṣi-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	ku-ttu	ku-ttu-ku	ku-ttu-re
2nd person	ku-ttə-n	ku-ttə-či	ku-ttə-či
1st person	ku-ttəg	kuttəši	ku-ttə-ñi
<i>Imperative</i>	kuṣu	kuṭri	kuṭri
<i>Prohibitive</i>	thə kuṣu	—	—
<i>Subjunctive</i>	ku-kka?	ku. śia?	ku-ñia?

(viii) tərpi/ can

*Present tense*

3rd person	tərpa	tərpi-toku	tərpi-tore
2nd person	tərpi-ton	„ -toči	„ -toči
1st person	„ -tog	„ -toši	„ -toñi

*Past tense*

3rd person	tərpi-tori	tərpi-tori-ku	tərpi-tori-re
2nd person	„ tori-n	„ tori-či	„ tori-či
1st person	„ tori-g	„ tori-ši	„ tori-ñi

*Future tense*

3rd person	tərto	tər-to-ku	tər-to-re
2nd person	tər-to-n	tər-to-či	tər-to-či
1st person	tər-to-g	tər-to-ši	tər-to-ñi

Besides /terpi/ there is another verb /rðbi/retri/ which is used identically, particularly with negative formations, as in /doi ibi mare/ he cannot go.

## 6. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They all are termed as indeclinable, though on account of their syntactic functions, they have been designated as adverbs, particles, and interjections. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables are as under in Tinani.

### 6.1. Adverbs

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action referred to by the verb in question. Adverbs or the verbal modifiers, in the string of the components of the sentence, are placed immediately before the finite verb form modified by them or before another adverb or just after the subject according to their semantic connotation. In case of more than one adverb the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place.

/kə khyañ ibiton/ where are you going?

/kəi gyeriñ əlle rəñtəñ/ when will you give me?

/kə dəlle khyañ imin/ where had you gone just now?

/dore eki phitog diñ min/ they came here yesterday evening.

/kə ləñcirəñ ñampo aine khuši šui/ I was so happy on seeing you.

Semantically, these modifiers can be grouped as (1) Spatial or adverbs of place and direction, (2) temporal or adverbs of time, (3) modal or adverbs of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverbs of quantity: some of the commonly used forms of the adverbs of these classes are as under:

(1) *Adverbs of place:* /diñ/ here, /don/ there, /khyañ/ where,

/kəccəñ/ near, /nəñ/ inside, /lezəñ/ under, below, behind, /bhətte nəm/ every where.

Directional modifiers are obtained by suffixing /-kəñ/ to the adverbs of place- /po-kəñ/ towards, /kher-kəñ/ upward, up, /nar-kəñ/ inwards etc.

(ii) *Adverb of time*: /tog/ today, /eki/ yesterday, /tusyar/ day before yesterday, /muntəñ/ tomorrow, /hyurna/ at once, early, /jagtañ/ daily, always, /mənzece/ for a long time (as in-/du tutig mənzece wapa/ he is laughing for a long time), /əlle/ when, /dəlle/ just now, /əske/ again, /thəlañ/ after, /tuñ-tuñ/ before.

(iii) *Adverb of manner*: /tremen/ quietly, /khyana/ how? /hyurna/ quickly, /əcanəḱ/ suddenly, /yaza-yoza/ slowly, /jərḱ rəmba/ running, /dei/ easy.

(iv) *Intensifiers*: Intensifiers are the modifiers of other adverbs or adjectives and occupy a place immediately before the head modified by them:

/du əmciriñ aine tej toce/ he is very fast in running.

/doi ñene aine pərešan lei/ he troubled us a lot.

(v) *Relative adverb*: The relative adverbs are -/əlig/ as much, and /undig/ that much:

/pər lən əlige məste settəñ cəlikti undige du mizi koṭ inzu zug-zin grilba lei/ but as strongly the wind blew, the man wrapped the coat with his body that much.

(vi) *Syntactic position*: The syntactic position of various classes of adverbs in Tinani may be illustrated by the following sentences.

/du ɛmin/ he came, /du eki əmin/ he came yesterday.

/du eki diñ ɛmin/ he came here yesterday.

/du eki phitog diñ əmin/ he came here yesterday evening,



/du eki phitog tremən diŋ əmin/ he quietly came here yesterday evening.

/du eki phitog zərək rəmba diŋ əmin/  
he came here running yesterday evening.

/kə dəlle khyən imin/ where had you gone just now?

From the syntactic position of various classes of adverbs occurring in the above given sentences it is evident that the adv. of time precedes the adv. of place as well as adv. of manner. In case of more than one adv. of time the term denoting day or date precedes the term denoting specific time.

## 6.2. Particles

This class of indeclinables includes a variety of words, which are broadly termed as connectives, emphatics, negatives, and interjections. The forms and functions of these may be illustrated as follows:

(1) *Connectives*: The primary function of this class of words is to conjoin the two elements of the same type, may be words, clauses or sentences. In Tinani the number of words belonging to this class is very small. For, in most of the cases where other languages use specific terms, the purpose of a connective at least at the level of sentences, is served by a pause juncture itself. Semantically, particles belonging to this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative. Structurally, these may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic. The uses of some of these may be illustrated as follows:

(a) *Additive*: The additive particle in Tinani is /taŋ/ 'and', but in coordinative sentences its function is mostly served by a pause juncture.

/lən taŋ eku bičən/ between the wind and the sun.

/doi rənṭra + gye tuŋbitog/ he gives (and) I drink.

/doi pəkai pa lei + ñene zəwa lei ni/

he went on cooking (and) we went on eating.

(b) *Subordinative*: The subordinative connective particle is /to/ but it too is usually dropped.

/doi kuke c̄rti + gye yon̄gi totog/

he said (that) I am hungry.

/gye rukmin + ̄lle ibiton/ I asked, when will you come.

/donrin m̄nikci p̄rikthi be īṣaku bic̄ñ eke m̄ste

taḡtb̄r toce/he had to accept that between us the sun only is more powerful.

It is, however, expressed in conditional sentences:

/̄li k̄ran k̄m leig d̄rañ beḡd zaig/

food was taken after completing the work.

(lit. when work finished then food taken).

(c) *Alternative*: The pairs of alternative particles are- /na/ neither.../na/ nor, and /ya/ either.../ya/ or:

/na k̄i r̄n̄ṭ̄n na gye ron̄ṭa/ neither you will give, nor I.

/ya gyeriñ r̄n̄ṭ̄n ya dorin̄/ (you) will either give to me or to him.

/doi na z̄wa na zei r̄n̄ṭ̄ra/ he neither eats, nor allows to eat.

(d) *Contrastive*: There is no native particle to express the contrastive aspect of the coordinative sentences. It is expressed either by the I. A. loan /p̄r/ but, or by a simple pause.

/̄i k̄m ṣupi toe (p̄r) k̄nu k̄m m̄ṣui/

other's work is finished (but) not your work.

/zopiton set zou + m̄ zopiton t̄ ila/ sit if you like (otherwise) go (lit. if you wish to sit you may sit, not wish to sit then go). /k̄i ela m̄la + gyeriñ t̄ ibie p̄/:ṛitto/ whether you go or not (but) I will have to go.

(ii) *Emphatic particles*: In an utterance normally, it is the stronger stress/pitch accent on the word concerned that

determines the intended emphasis of the speaker, but to make it more specific certain particles or vocalic elements are also added to them. The most commonly used devices are—(1) suffixation of emphatic element /-e/ to the word concerned accompanied with a heavy accent on the initial syllable of it, and consequent lengthening of the final consonant, as in

/gye diñne zottog/ I shall remain at this very place.

/gye diñ-ne totog/ I am very much here (with emphasis on here).

/iša-ku bicēn ek-ke mōste tagətbəɾ toce/ between us the sun alone is stronger.

(2) Use of the emphatic particle /la/ 'also': /diñ əɾ-re-la mōcere/. There is absolutely nobody here.

(iii) *Negative particle*: Like other languages of this group Tinani has two negative particles, viz. /mə/ and /thə/. Distributionally the former negates the presence of any thing in general and the latter prohibits the execution of an action. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it.

/diñ əɾre la mōcere/ no body is here.

/gye seu mōzamin/ I did not eat apple.

/kyumurəñ thela (=thə-ila)/don't go home.

/muntan diñ əmpi thə pešu/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

/du kənu yuñ mōšu/ he is not your brother.

(iv) *Interrogative particle*: Besides /khye/, the most commonly used interrogative particle in utterances involving answer in 'yes' or 'no', is /-a/ which is suffixed to the verb form in question.

/khye ram ica ñiši yoca šuda/ Is Ram a good boy?

/khye ram ica ñiši yoca mōšuda/ Is Ram not a good boy?

/iga/ should I go? /ilšia/ should we (2) go?

/ilñia/ should we go?, /leka/ should I do?

/rəŋga/ should I give? etc.

### 6.3. Interjections

The number of interjections is quite limited in it. The only interjections obtained in our data are:

/oh/ expression of surprise/, /ʃəbe/ bravo, thanks.

/ei/ expression of calling attention. /oi/ yes, /əcha/  
is to so? /he ram/, /ae kuncok/ oh lord!

## 7.0. SYNTAX

In a way, almost all the morphosyntactic aspects of Tinani have been informally presented while discussing in various units of morphological structure of it. In this brief analysis we shall be presenting some of the formal aspects of the structure and nature of syntactic composition in Tinani.

### 7.1. Types of Sentences

A sentence in Tinani can be simple, complex or compound, though basically it favours simple sentences only.

### 7.2. Constituents of Simple Sentences

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject, and a verb phrase, constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these constituents in a simple sentence is: subject+object+verb. As such it belongs to the SOV group.

/gyu min sohən ʃu/ my name is Sohan.

/doi bəgət zəwa/ he eats/ is eating food.

In case of double objects the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/gye kəniŋ ɕəba rə/ŋtra/ I will give you money.

/gyedi phəl thilagtiŋ rənṭritog/

I am giving this fruit to the child/boy.

/gye yuŋ ica ɕak ceemin/ I wrote a letter to the brother.

### 7.3. Noun Phrase

The constituents of a subject or noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun/pronoun or a noun 'head' plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding the noun head, e.g.

/doi zōwa/ he eats, /ek zirpa/ the sun is rising.

/phyeci pyacə/ a small bird, /phyeci m̄ngi pyacə/ small red bird.

**7.3.1. Extension of Noun Phrase:** A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head, which usually precede the head in this languages. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers, in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, the order is:  $\pm$  demonstrative  $\pm$  numeral  $\pm$  intensifier  $\pm$  qualitative:

/kyaŋki mi/ (an) old man.

/ica kyaŋki mi/ one old man.

/ica rukki daŋu grakh kyaŋki mi/ an old man with a long beard.

/ica sii rukki daŋu grakh ər dug dag phyətər grakh kyaŋki mi/ and old man with white long beard and bald head.

/ica nigəre dagdag phyətər kyaŋki mi/ a completely bald headed old man.

From the above examples it is evident that in case of extension of an N.P. a numeral qualifier precedes the qualitative modifiers. In case of more than one qualitative qualifiers the one referring to 'colour' or 'size' precedes others, as in /sii rukki daŋu/ white, long beard, or /ica phyeci tingi buʔa/ a small green tree; /ica phyeci m̄ngi phyaca/ a small red bird. However, in case of both occurring together anyone may precede the other (see above). Moreover, an intensifier invariably precedes the element intensified by it, e.g. /aine kyaŋki mi/ very old man, /aine m̄ngi phyaca/ very red bird.

### 7.4. Agreement of Modifiers with the Head

As stated earlier (see 4.3) all modifiers in Tinani, except the pronominal ones, belong to indeclinable class of words, as

such there is no agreement of any kind between the noun head and its modifiers (for examples see 4.3).

### 7.5. Verbs Phrase

A simple verb phrase or a V. P. contains either a simple finite or a compulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more aux. but in case of a compulative verb it needs a complement to complete it, which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb.

/mohān gyu yar šu/ Mohan is my friend.

/di rāh māngi toce/ this horse is red one.

/du gyu kyumuñ toto/ he is at my home.

/doi zāwa/ he eats/ is eating.

/eke zirpa?/ the sun is rising.

/du šeki toce/ he is ill.

### 7.6. Components of a Composite Verb Phrase

The constituents of a composite verb phrase are: principal verb stem ± one or more full verb stem + auxiliary. Syntactically the place of the auxiliary is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological categories involved in the verb form concerned.

/du soñiñ doske toce/ he has slept on the ground.

/gye kyumuriñ ibitog/ I want to go home.

/kə diñ əlle əmpiton/ when will you come here?

### 7.7. Extension of Verb Phrase

A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complementary object:

/du əmin/ he came.

/du eki əmin/ he came yesterday.

/du eki diñ əmin/ he came here yesterday.

/du eki phitog diñ əmin/ he came here yesterday evening.

/du eki philog treamān diñ əmin/

he came here quietly last evening.

/kəniñ tog phitog ñəndoñ əmin šud/

you have to come at our house today evening.

## 7.8. Concord

It has already been stated that there is no grammatical gender in these languages. As such the scope of agreement between the subject/object and the verb is limited to the number and the person categories only which may be explained as under:

(a) *Concord in subjectival construction*: In all subjectival constructions this agreement takes place between the subject and the verb. The subject may be in the ergative case or nominative case.

/thilagci zəmin zəwa/ the child is eating food.

/thilagkuči zəmin zəitoku/ two children are eating.

/thilagte-či zəmin zəitore/ children are eating food.

/ririñ ica la toce/ there is a goat in the field.

/dire mohənu lare dire/ these are Mohan's goats.

/buṭariñ nizi pyacaku toceku/ there are two birds on the tree.

/doi rəṇṭra, gye tuñbitog/ he gives, I drink,

(b) *Concord in Objectival Construction*: In objectival constructions there is an agreement between the verb and the object. But most of the languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour objectival constructions. All objectival constructions of Indo-Aryan languages become subjectival in it. Hence there is no agreement between the object and the verb, e.g. a Hindi sentence like /jəb kam kiya təb khana khaya/ is rendered as /jəb kam kiye, təb khana khaye/ as in /əlikə rəñ kəm leig dərañ bəgəð zəig/ having finished the work (we) took the meal.

Here, the verb agrees with the first person plural subject, as is the case in the eastern dialects of Hindi.

Similarly, /yoci gemecəre khəni/ (the) boy saw girls.

/gemecaci yorin khāṇire/ girls saw (the) boy.

In both the cases the verb agrees with the number and person of the subject, not of the object as we find in Hindi. A few more examples:

/rame mohānu doṇze ica gāppa rukti/

Ram asked one thing from Mohan.

/rame mohānu doṇze māste gāppa rukti/

Ram asked many things from Mohan.

/doi khoro belogtin kei/

he put (a) cap on the head.

/doi khāmze sāndukān kei/

he put clothes in (the) box.

Moreover, the objectival construction is confined to transitive verbs only and, in this regard we have already pointed out (2-3.4(e)) that in Tinani, in transitive sentences the object is in the nominative case and the verb agrees with the subject which is in the ergative case.

### 7.9. Types of Simple Sentences

On the basis of their semantic connotation and structural peculiarities a simple sentence in Tinani is either affirmative or negative or interrogative or imperative etc. and can further be designated as active, passive, impersonal, causative, etc. We have already dealt with these morpholo-syntactic aspects of Tinani while explaining various sub-systems and moods in relevant sections (see 5.13-17). Their reproduction here will serve no useful purpose.

### 7.10. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are a combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinating conjunction.

In Tinani this function is served by a pause juncture:

/doi rāṇtra + gye tūnbitog/ he gives (and) I drink.

/ḍi kām šupi koi per kānu kām māšui/



others work is done, but your work could not be done.

/doi pəkai pa lei ñene zəwaleiñi/ he went on cooking (and)  
we went on eating.

7.10.1. *Coordinative sentences*: This type of sentences are conjoined with coordinative conjunctions like either . . or, neither nor . . , otherwise etc.

/doi na zəwa + na zəi rəntra/ he neither eats, not lets eats.

/zepiton set zou + məzepiton tə ɪla/ sit, if you wish, other-  
wise go.

/kəi ɪla mela + gyerin tə ɪbie pərittoɡ/ (wheter) you go or  
not but I will have to go. /əntona, menton/ (whether) you  
are coming, or not coming.

## 7.11. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but there one of them is subordinative or dependent to the other. The number of dependent clauses may be more than one. The clause/sentence to which the other clauses or sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following types of complex sentences have been noted for Tinani:

(i) *Conditional*: In this type of sentences the constituent clauses are bound together with conditional markers, viz. 'if' and 'then' (expressed or inexpressed). In which the 'if' clause is a subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is principal clause. Positionally the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause:

/du əŋkyəŋ tə ñiʃi ʃui kəʔe/

(if) he comes, then so nice it will be (also see 5.17 (v)).

(ii) *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. In Tinani, the conjoining

conjunct is usually left out, and its purpose is served by a pause juncture:

/gye hiñcig + gye khyañsi kêm lətag/

I wish (that) I should do some good work.

/doi kuštore + gye šeki tocog/ he said, I am ill.

/doi kuštore du doñ khye ləzi ili/

he told, what for he went there.

(iii) *Relative*: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun functions as a subject or the complement of the principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate or the relative clause precedes the principal clause:

/doci khyenə hiñkyəl lətare/

they may do, whatever they like.

/əñgula ənto due ilto/ whosoever comes, he will go.

/əlikərdəñ kəm leig dərdəñ bəgəð zarig/

when the work was finished then we took meals.

# **GAHRI**

**(Bunan/Punan)**

*Introductory Note*

*Sound System*

*Grammatical Structure*

## INTRODUCTION

### Linguistic Area

The linguistic area of Gahri or Bunan (real pronunciation Punan) is the lower Bhaga valley, also known as Gahr valley, situated on both banks of the river Bhaga from its confluence with Chandra at Tandi to north-eastwards for about 25 km. till it meets the boundary of Tod, the dialect of upper Bhaga valley, at Kwaring. Important villages and hamlets falling in the jurisdiction of this dialect are—Biling, Kardang, Kyelang, Guskayar, Yurnad, Gumrang, Barbog, Paspara, Pyukar, Styering, etc.

### Population and Speakers

All the speakers of this dialect belong to Mongoloid Buddhist community. No separate statistics either for the number of people inhabiting the above noted area or the number of speakers speaking this dialect as their mother tongue could be obtained for this analysis.

### Literature

Gahri has no literature, except the Gospel of St. Mark translated into it by Rev. A. H. Franke and the version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son prepared by Rev. A. W. Heyde and printed in the LSI (vol. III, pt. I, pp. 476-78). According to Grierson (*ibid*, p. 469) in former days, when the Rajas of Kulu ruled in Lahul, the dialect was written in Takari characters, but now the Tibetan alphabet is used. Similarly, no analytical work on this language, except the short grammatical sketch of it presented by Grierson (*ibid*. pp. 470-75), and an article by K. Angroop Lahuli in the Him Bharati (Vol. 26-27, pp. 24-33) has come to my notice as yet. Writing about the material available to him for his

Survey, Grierson also states, "The materials forwarded for the purpose of this survey are not sufficient for a full sketch of the dialect. (*ibid*, p. 428).

### **Sources of Data**

As such the material for this analysis was recorded by the author himself from the field as well as from informants from time to time, spread over a period of 7 years. The principal informants from whom the bulk of data was collected and discussed are Shri K. Angroop Lama from Lower Kyelang and Shri Urgyan Dorje from Guskyar in Upper Kyelang.

## SOUND SYSTEM

The sound system of Gahri has the following sets of vowel and consonant phonemes which can be described separately as under:

### 1.0. VOWELS

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		(v)	a

The phonemic contrasts of these are obtained as under:

i/e—/mi/ man: /me/ fire; /ligca/ to make: /legca/ to change

i/a—/mi/ man: /ma/ wound; /nizi/ seven: /niza/ twenty

i/u—/brica/ to write: /bruca/ to wipe; /gii/ mine: /gui/ whose

i/ə—/šil/ breakfast: /šəl/ dysentery

e/o—/bei/ thin: /boi/ fat;

e/a—/khei/ sweet: /khəi/ black

e/a—/pheča/ to open: /phača/ to free

a/u—/ba/ bamboo: /bu/ worm; /ša/ meat: /šu/ blood; /pyači/ bird: /pyuči/ mouse.

a/o—/la/ goat: /lo/ age; /coco/ younger brother: /coca/ to beg

ə/ə—/khəre/ anything: /khəre/ whatever

u/o—/nui/ new: /noi/ plenty; /cuca/ to squeeze: /coca/ to beg; /luci/ calf: /loci/ turban

u/ð—/tul/ dust: /təl/ she, he; /nul/ silver: /nəl/ a plough

Some of these may be established on the basis of their presence or absence in a vocable as well:

e/φ—/kure/ to steal: /kur/ a load; /zere/ to eat: /zer/ a nail

i/φ—/lei/ yellow: /le/ tongue; /mini/ ripe: /min/ name

u/φ—/wðru/ a cooking pot: /wðr/ belching

o/φ—/chao/ brother's son: /cha/ salt

a/φ—/ama/ mother: /ma/ not; /pusa/ head: /pus/ knee

ð/φ—/ðku/ uncle: /ku/ idol.

### 1.1. Vowel Sequences

There are no diphthongs in Gahri. However, vocalic sequences of two vowels of the following nature are normally attested:

*/i/ as a second member*

ui—/zuig/ weak, /nui/ new, /gui/ where, /tui/ thick

oi—/noi/ much, /soi/ cold, /boi/ fat, /thoi/ high, /loi/ easy

ai—/yai/ light (in weight), /khai/ black, /krai/ hard, /mai/ red

ði—/kði/ spade, /kði:/ difficult, /wði/ distant.

ei—/khei/ sweet, /mei/ low, /lei/ yellow, /dei/ beautiful

ii—/sii/ white /tīi/ blue, /thii/ wet

*/u/ as a second member*

iu/eu—/niula/neula/mangoose, /seu/ apple

ðu—/ðu/ a kiss, /brðu/ a corn, /thðu/ kettle

au—/au/ father's brother, uncle.

*/a/ as a second member*

ua—/nuag/ like that, /kua/ a well

aa—/yaa/ last (time)

*/o/ as a second member*

ao—/prao/ brave, /chao/ sister's son.

There are a couple of three vowel sequences as well.

aoi—/zaoi/ lame

aia—/phraia/ rosary

## 1.2. Distribution

Distributionally, all the vowels can occur in all the positions of a word without any restriction, e.g. /lama/ goats, /coco/ younger brother, /phece/ uncle, /bubu/ owl, /gii/ mine /ama/ mother, /ɕku/ uncle, etc.

## 1.3. Allophonic Variations

Besides the phonemic norms noted above, many vowels show phonetic variation in their respective phonetic environments as given below:

(a) *Closer variant*: /a/→[ɐ]. In the word final position the low open vowel /a/ which is less opener and frontal too, from its norm, and is pronounced with considerable spread of lips, as in [lasɐ] thigh, [lamɐ] sheep, [lɐ] goat, otherwise cf. /swal/ charcoal. /acho/ elder brother. This tendency is attested when the syllable peak /a/ is followed by a front vowel in the succeeding syllable [bɛci] skin, [pyɛçi] bird or occurs finally.

(b) *Opener variant*: /o/→[ɔ]—The mid open vowel /o/ is attested as lower mid vowel [ɔ] before a nasal or the glottal stop. /koma/=[kɔʔmɐ] food pipe, /lonka/=[lɔŋka] stomach, /choma/=[chɔma] cooked vegetable, /moʔ d/=[mɔʔ t] face, /thon/=[thɔŋ] room.

(c) *Quantitative Variant*: As compared with their norms, all vowels are realized with a shorter quantity when occurring in monosyllabic or in the initial syllable of a dissyllabic or a polysyllabic word, as in /yul/ country, /khem/ courtyard, /thog/ roof, /lo/ age, /a/ mouth, /ɕi/ grass, /le/ tongue, /khu/ smoke, /ba/ bamboo, /thempa/ stair case, /pregci/ broom, /soi/ cold, /zo-po/ ox, /phe-ce/ uncle, /sugu/ paper. /bu-bu/ owl, /dag-po/ husband, /chao/ nephew, /cha-mo/ niece, /lama/ goat.



But the intrinsic quantity of the vowel is maintained when occurring in the final position of a dissyllabic or a polysyllabic word, as in /sugci/ comb, /sipi/ flute, /bubu/ owl, /kaci/ walnut, /pyaci/ bird, /gormo/ a metal cup, /mugpo/ fog, /silti/ rain /buca/ son, /dig-sa/ brother's wife, /ñer-ci/ beans, /brə-u/ buck wheat, /ane/ father's sister, /hena/ or /na-ro/ morning, /che-i/ heat.

It is also realized longer when the final coda margin is reduced to its unheard variant, as in /ete?g/ dove, /phoro?g/ hill crow, /beta?g/ roof.

Nasalized vowels too are realized a bit longer and opener than their normal quantitative and qualitative norms, as in /thə.ñ/ roof.

(d) *Glottalized variants*: All vowels occurring before voiced stops, particularly /d/ and /g/, as their coda margins are pronounced with a glottal constriction, or as their glottalized variants, as in /lagthil/=[laʔv̥thil] palm, /tag/ [taʔv̥] leopard, /sogpa/=[səʔq-pa] wing, /dag-po/=[daʔq-po] husband. /co? ma/=[cəʔma] food pipe, /mod/=[mɔʔt/ face.

(e) *Nasalized variants*: All vowels tend to be nasalized in the vicinity of a nasal consonant, as in /mi/=[mĩ] man, /mecuñ/=[mecũñ] mother's brother's wife, /ama/=[ãmä] mother, /coñ/=[cõñ] onion.

(f) *Frontal variants of Central vowel*: The central vowel /ə/ tends to be realized as a mid front vowel before a high front vowel, as in /bəi/=[bei] thin, /ləi/=[lei] yellow, /məi/ [mei] low.

## 2. CONSONANTS

In Gahri the number of consonant phonemes, established on their phonemic oppositions, is 31. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation, and manner of articulation. The classes of plosives and affricates further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of voice, and the presence vs. absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may, schematically, be presented as under:

## Place of Articulation

	Bilabial	Dental (post dental)	Palato- alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Plosives							
unvoiced	p, ph	t, th		c, ch	ʈ, ʈh	k, kh	(ʔ)
Voiced (complete closer)	b	d		j	ɖ	g	
Affricates							
un-vd.			ʧ, ʧh				
Vd.			ɟʒ				
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	(ɳ)	ŋ	
Vibrant/ Flapped					r(r)		
Lateral (palatal closer)				l			
Fricative		s z		ʃ (ʒ)	(ʂ)	h	
Frictionless continuants or glides	w			y			

*Note:* Segments placed in parentheses are of a doubtful phonemic status, owing to non-availability of their phonemic contrasts.

## 2.1. Phonemic Constrasts

The phonemic constrasts of consonants in Gahri may be illustrated as under:

(a) *Stops: Voiceless vs. Voiced*

k/g—/kyum/ house: /gyum/ nose; /ku/ idol: /gu/ nine

c/z—/celcel/ round: /zelzel/ round (big); /cəre/ bed bug  
/zəre/ to eat.

t/ɖ—/ʈhod/ a gain: /ɖod/ warm

t/d—/gəlte/ if, though: /gəldə/ to fall; /tog/ on: /dug/ poison.

p/b—/pu/ hair: /bu/ worm; /lɔp/ lightning: /lɔb/ leaf

kh/g—/khu/ smoke: /gu/ nine; /khi: r/ a sweet preparation: /gir/ a hybrid animal.

čh/z—/čhəd/ fever, heat: /zəd/ barley; /čha/ salt: /za/ tea.

th/d—/thən/ today: /dən/ belly

ph/b—/phu/ shield: /bu/ a worm

(b) *Stops: unaspirate vs. aspirate*

k/kh—/ku/ idol: /khu/ smoke; /kur/ a load: /khur/ knife

č/čh—/čugca/ to place: /čhugca/ to begin; /čoca/ to beg: /čhoca/ to worship.

t/th—/tən/ with, /thən/ today; /tog/ on: /thog/ roof; /tenca/ to awaken: /thenca/ to accept.

p/ph—/pu/ hair: /phu/ a blow; /pug/ fried grain: /phug/ a hole.

(c) *Palatal plosives vs. palatal affricates*

c/č—/buca/ to place, to put: /buča/ son/boy; /ci/ grass /či/ from; /culi/ appricat: /čuli/ hearth.

ch/čh—/chən/ wine: /čhən/ nest; /chas/ lap: /čhas/ garden; /ches/ fatigue: /čhes/ a date (day) of the month

z/ž—/zag/ date: /žag/ urine; /zən/ north: /žən/ wide; /zu/ salutation: /žu/ lip.

j/dž—/jun/ left (side): /džan/ north; /ədzən/ father-in-law, maternal uncle.

ch/ž—/čhən/ nest: /žən/ wide

(d) *Dental vs. retroflex plosives*

t/th—/tənka/ coin: /thənka/ religious paintings

t/ṭh—/tul/ dust: /ṭhul/ ghost

th/ṭh—/thog/ roof: /thəg/ a cheat

d/ḍ—/ḍu/ cloud: /ḍu/ beat.

/ḍum/ hill onion: /ḍumḍum/ hale and hearty

*(e) Nasals*

m/n—/gəm/ box: /gəh/ hill: /ma/ wound: /na/ drum, five

m/ñ—/ma/ wound: /ña/ fish

m/n—/ma/ wound: /na/ pus; /min/ name: /nin/ day; /miza/  
to think: /niza/ twenty

n/ñ—/dēn/ belly: /dēh/ and; /srin/ paralysis: /srin/ sister

n/ñ—/na/ drum: /ña/ fish; /ñēn/ bad: /ñēn/ wild sheep

*(f) Liquids*

r/l—/re/ also: /le/ tongue; /kyorde/ to play: /kyolde/ to  
dance; /ro/ corpse: /lo/ age.

n/l—/kin/ wild goat; /kil/ centre; /na/ pus: /la/ goat; /nuci/  
curd: /luci/ calf; /noi/ much: /loi/ easy.

*(g) Fricatives and palatals*

š/s—/ša/ meat: /sa/ day; /šu/ blood: /su/ who

š/č—/luši/ young of animal: /luči/ calf

š/čh—/ša/ meat: /čha/ salt

š/z—/zu/ blood: /zu/ lip; /šəl/ dysentery: /zəl/ face (hon).

z/ž—/təlzi/ by him: /təlzi/ they (pl.)

*(h) Semivowels: palatal*

y/w—/phya/ a rabbit like animal: /phwa/ chest

y/ž—/yur/ water channel: /žur/ corner,

/yug/ mother-in-law: /zug/ pain

*(i) Presence vs. absence of phonemes*

Phonemic status of some of the consonantal phonemes can be established on the basis of their presence or absence in certain vocables:

k/φ—/əku/ uncle: /əu/ a kiss

kh/φ—/khod/ grandson: /od/ light (shine)

g/φ—/zug/ pain: /zu/ salutation, /zag/ urine: /za/ tea; /mig/  
eye: /mi/ man: /lag/ hand: /la/ goat.

- c/φ—/kɔci/ walnut: /kɔi/ spade; /boci/ finger: /boi/ fat  
 ɕh/φ—/ɕha/ salt; /a/ mouth  
 z/φ—/za/ tea: /a/ mouth; /zugs/ body: /ugs/ breath  
 t/φ—/tɔmci/ bud: /ɔmci/ road.  
 tʰh/φ—/tʰhɔu/ kettle: /ɔu/ a kiss  
 d/φ—/ɖawa/ money: /awa/ father; /ɖod/ warm: /od/ light  
 t/φ—/boti/ butter milk: /boi/ fat; /soti/ water: /soi/ cold  
 d/φ—/pud/ threshing floor, nipple: /pu/ hair on the body  
 p/φ—/pro/ anger: /ro/ corpse; /pri/ sour milk: /ri/ glacier  
 ph/φ—/phɔmca/ to defeat: /ɔmca/ to move, to walk  
 b/φ—/gyɔb/ back: /gyɔ/ hundred; /laʃa/ thigh: /lasab/ ring  
 m/φ—/khum/ pillow: /khu/ smoke; /mod/ face: /od/ light  
 n/φ—/gyɔn/ spring season: /gyɔ/ hundred; /gun/ winter:  
     /gu/ nine.  
 ɳ/φ—/kuɳ/ in: /ku/ idol; /baɳ/ foot: /ba/ bamboo.  
 ɳ/φ—/ɳa/ fish: /a/ mouth  
 r/φ—/graɳ/ stone: /gaɳ/ hill; /kur/ a load: /ku/ idol  
 y/φ—/khyu/ dog: /khu/ smoke  
 l/φ—/lama/ ewe: /ama/ mother  
 w/φ—/ɕhwa/ a ceremony: /ɕha/ salt  
 s/φ—/ʃod/ lunch: /od/ light  
 s/φ—/lɔbs/ wave: /lɔb/ leaf; /pus/ knee: /pu/ hair on body  
 h/φ—/hiku/ hiccup: /iku/ when?

## 2.2. Distribution

Distributionally, all the consonants except /ɳ/ can occur in the initial position and all but /h/ in the medial position, but occurrence of consonants in the final position is very limited. Infact, Gahri is a vowel ending language and commonly attested word final consonants are—nasals, liquids and sibilants. Among plosives the only phones occurring in this position are the unaspirate voiced phonemes /d/ and /g/, which usually are accompanied with a glottal stop, occurrence of

/b/ is rare in this position. Besides, the glottal fricative /h/ and the semi vowels, /w/ and /y/, too do not occur in this position.

From the point of frequency, occurrence of retroflex sounds is the lowest in all positions. These are mostly, confined to Indo-Aryan loans, as in /tuṛka/ seasoning, /t̪k̪ri/ balances, /t̪hik/ right, /t̪h̪g/ a cheat, /k̪ɔ̃nti/ necklace, /gwaɳu/ fox, /gunɖu/ veil, /bask̪t̪/ waist coat.

The development of retroflexion, attested in Tibetan in conjunct consonants consisting a plosive+r, is not attested in it. e.g. in Tibetan the pronunciation of *hbars* 'rice' has become /d̪e/ whereas in Gahri it is still pronounced as /br̪s/.

### 2.3. Allophonic Variants of Consonants

Some of the allophonic variants, attested at the phonetic level in Gahri may be pointed out as follows:

(a) *Incomplete articulation and devoicing of voiced plosives:* In a word final or a pre-pausal position all plosives are articulated indistinctly. In case of a voiced stop, it is devoiced too, e.g. /mig/=[mik] eye, /cemed/=[cemet] girl, daughter, /z̪ɔ̃d/=[z̪ɔ̃t] barley, /mod/=[mot] face, /zig/=[zik] hyeana, /l̪ɔ̃b/=[l̪ɔ̃p] leaf.

The articulation of a word final plosive becomes still indeterminate when it is preceded by a long vowel, which is usually accompanied with a glottal constriction, as in /prag/=[praʔ] rock, /thog/=[thoʔ] roof, /mentog/=[mentoʔ] flower, /gursagsag/=[gusaʔ/ksaʔ] marigold, /thurgob/=[thurgop] bridle, /golog/=[goloʔ] reverse, /sumdab/=[sumdap] three fold.

A voiced consonant also tends to be devoiced when it occurs before an unvoiced consonant as in /thag-pa/=[thak-pa] a woolen rope, /thugpa/=[thuk-pa] a meat or vegetable soup, /cigs-pa/=[ciks-pa] ankle, /labs/ [laps] waves, /digs/=[diksa] wife, elder brother's wife, /mug-po/=[muk-po] fog, /iphs/=[ips] sleep.

(b) *Fricativization:* Velar consonants accompanying a glottal constriction are realized as glottal fricatives, as in /lag/=[laʔ v] hand, /dag-po/=[daʔqpo] husband, /cags/=[caʔqs] iron, /yekha/=[yexa] are going, /zakhag/=[zaxag] they eat.

(c) *Palatalization*: Velar consonants tend to be palatalized when occurring with front vowels, as in /kilbuci/=[kyil-buci] middle finger, /kyaŋ keci/=[kyaŋ kyeci] little finger, /kedpa/=[kyetpa] waist, /saked/=[sakyet] earth, /cemed/=[cyemyed] girl.

Moreover, in Sandhi a dental plosive tends to be assimilated when followed by a palatal sound, as in /zod-ci/=[zocci] seated, /bud-zi/=[buzzi] having placed, /brud-zi/=[bruzzi]=having wiped. /od-ci/=[occi] tomorrow, /zod-te/=[zodde] to sit.

(d) *Labialization*: Consonants also tend to be labialized before back rounded vowels, as in /kholtag/=[Khwolta?k] a rope to be put on the neck of a calf or goat.

(e) *Dental sounds*: Dental and lateral sounds, which otherwise are post-dental, are realized as fully dental with prostrated tip of the tongue, when occurring with front or advanced vowels, as in /tete/ grandfather, /təl/ he, /la/ moon, /lim/ pine tree, /kin/ wild goat.

(f) *Trilling*: The trilled sound has two important allophonic variants, (1) it is fully retroflex and vibrant /r/ when occurring initially or inter vocally or in cluster, as in /rere/ to come, /rica/ to bring, /rwan/ wild, hill, /reči/ ear, /ruppa/ bone. Its vibration is also fully maintained when occurring in a cluster with a plosive or before another consonant, as in /brə̣s/ rice, /khruči/ arm, /porči/ navel, /zirmo/ a paw, /ñerči/ beans, pulses, /ri/ glacier.

(2) But it is reduced to a non-vibrant indeterminate variant when occurring in cluster with a retroflex sibilant, as in /ʃriŋ/=[ʃiŋ] sister, /ʃrib/ rib, /ʃraci/ wheat, /ʃrim/ arrow, /ʃrance/ pegion, /ʃrig/ louse, /ʃra/ shame, /chuʃrin/ crocodile. In these utterances articulation of /r/ is either not perceived at all by an outsider or is heard indeterminately.

*Cerebralization*: The palatal /ʃ/ is realized as a cerebral /ʃ/ when occurring with the retroflex sound /r/ (see above).

(g) *Glides*: With regard to allophonic variants of semi-consonants it may be mentioned that it is mostly conditioned by the accompanying vowel, i.e. the semiconsonant /y/ is clearly realized before the back vowels and the semiconsonant /w/ before a front vowel, otherwise they are realized very weakly, nearing the articulation of a vowel. For instance, in the following examples the /y/ and /w/ are clearly realized: /pyaci/ bird, /gyuma/ intestine, /khyoci/ tea spoon, /pyucl/ mouse, /yul/ country, /yun/ left side, /wər/ a belch, /swəl/ charcoal, /dwica/ to collect, but the articulation of /w/ is tremendously reduced before a back-vowel as in /khwag/ = [khnak] a crow, /rwaŋ/ [ruaŋ] wild, hill, /y/ seldom occurs before front vowels.

#### 2.4. Consonant Clusters

Occurrence of conjunct consonants is a common feature of Gahri sound system. These are attested in all positions, though the nature and extent of componential elements differs from position to position. Briefly, it may be indicated as under:

In the initial position the usual components of the cluster are—(i) a plosive/sibilant + r, (ii) a plosive/nasal/sibilant/glottal fricative /h/ + y, (iii) a plosive/continuant/sibilant + w. There are no three member clusters in the initial position (for examples see, word structure: monosyllabic word patterns).

In the medial position the usually attested combination of these sounds is of (i) a plosive + plosive / a nasal/ a sibilant a continuant/semiconsonant, or a geminate consonant, (ii) a continuant + a plosive / nasal/ sibilant/semiconsonant, (iii) a nasal + a plosive/ nasal or a geminated nasal, (iv) a sibilant + a plosive; nasal or a semiconsonant (for example see *infra*, polysyllabic word (s)).

In the medial position clustering of three or more consonantal elements is also attested. In this the usual combination is of (i) a plosive/nasal + a sibilant + a plosive, as in /gogste/ to cough, /grogspo/ river, (ii) a voiced plosive/ nasal + a voiced plosive + r, (iii) a voiced plosive + sibilant + a



semiconsonant, (iv) a lateral + a plosive + a semi-consonant, as in /sulgyud/ flour, /ðlkyoci/. In a four member group its combination is as (i) /-ŋgst-/ as in /chongste/ a jump, (ii) /-ŋgsp-/ as in /laŋgsa/ steam; /-phst-/ as in /iphstei/ sleepy.

In the final position the usual combination is of a plosive + a sibilant as in /trugs/ sweat, /thabs/ to fight. In a three member group it is, however, a nasal + a plosive + a sibilant, as in /zoŋgs/ copper, /zomrðŋgs/ festival. Moreover, it can be a nasal + a sibilant as well, as in /mans/ dream.

## 2.5. Gemination

Although Gahri has a rich variety of consonant clusters, yet it does not seem to favour geminated consonants. At least no contrasts of simple and geminated consonants could be attested in our data. The only examples of gemination could be found is of /d/ and /p/, as in /bridde/ to slip, /sredde/ to cough, /thippo/ a scarf of ladies. In this the former examples seem to be a case of assimilation of verb root final consonant + the infinitive marker, and the latter a doubtful case of gemination.

## 2.6. Accent

Accent in Gahri is both phonemic and non-phonemic. Though examples of the phonemic contrast of the accent are attested in a few monosyllabic words only, yet it is very much a part of the sound system in it: e.g. /ló/ south: /lo/ age, year /lá/ goat: /la/ moon.

Normally, a monosyllabic words is uttered with a prominent stress accent on it, e.g. /la/ goat, /le/ tongue, /phug/ hole, /du/ cloud. /din/ day, etc. In dissyllabic words, however, the prominent accent is on the initial syllable, if it is close and on the second syllable if both the syllables are open, as in /pum-pa/ shoulder, /wam-pu/ a bear, /lag-thil/ palm, but /khyu-çi/ arm, /bo-çi/ finger, /cáva/ deer, /si-ga/ saddle, /ku-šu/ a kind of apple, /su-gu/ paper, /phe-ce/ uncle.

In polysyllabic words all syllables carry a secondary accent only, as in /te-paŋ-po/ thumb, /co-bo-ci/ index finger, /la-la-ci/ kid, /ka-ka-ci/ lamb. etc. (not marked).

### 3.0 WORD STRUCTURE

A word usually defined as a 'minimum free form and conveying a single concept' is composed of one or more morphemes between two successive junctures. Morphologically, its constituents can be a stem/root alone or a root/stem plus one or more affixes. As such these components could be both free plus bound forms or bound plus bound forms.

Basically, the structure of words in Gahri is monomorphemic, but the number of polymorphemic words too is fairly large. Here the criteria accepted for determining the characteristic features of a word in this language are:

- (i) it never begins with a retroflex nasal /ŋ/ or /ɽ/
- (ii) it normally ends in a vowel, a nasal consonant, a liquid /r, l/, a voiced plosive or sibilant.
- (iii) no unvoiced consonant except /s/ or semi-consonant occurs at the end of it.
- (iv) no conjunct consonants other than those permissible in the language (see above) can begin or end a word.
- (v) in a slow tempo of speech it necessarily admits a momentary pause (external open juncture) on either side of it.

#### 3.1. Syllabic Structure of a Word

From the point of syllabic units and their structural peculiarities the following type of word patterns are usually attested in it.

(a) *Monosyllabic Words*: In monosyllabic words the syllabic patterns may be as under:

- (i) /V/—/a/ mouth.
- (ii) /CV/—/ku/ idol, /mi/ man, /lo/ age, /ma/ wound, /le/ tongue.
- (iii) /CVC/—/od/ light, /lɔb/ leaf, /he?g/ vulture, /khum/ pillow.

- (iv) /CCV/—In this pattern the second /-C/ is invariably either a /r/ or a semiconsonant, /y, w/: the first /C-/ can be either a plosive or a sibilant when clustered with /r/, but in case of clustering with /w/ it can be a continuant, viz. /r/ and /l/ as well, e.g. /kra/ hair, /swa/ tooth, /khyu/ dog, /bre/ a measuring pot.
- (v) /CCVC/—In this pattern, too, the /CC-/ is as in (iii) above: /kwar/ earthen jar (big), /gyɔr/ fear, /khres/ hungry, /brɔs/ rice, /srim/ arrow, /rwañ/ wild.
- (vi) (C)VCC/—In this the final /C/ is invariably a sibilant, /gogs/ asthma, /zugs/ body, /ogs/ breath, /cags/ iron, /mañs/ dream, /naks/ forest, /dɔps/ side, /iphs/ sleep.
- (vii) /CCVCC/ In this pattern the cluster of first group of /CC-/ is as in (iii) above, and in final /-CC/ is as in (v) above, e.g. /trugs/ perspiration, /kyugs/ ashes, /kwags/ vegetable, /thrim/ judgement, /phribs/ sneeze, i.e. a plosive + sibilant.
- (viii) In a /CVCCC/ or /CCVCCC/ pattern too the combination of final consonants is governed as in (vi) above, as in /zoŋs/ copper, /sraŋs/ horse.
- (b) *Dissyllabic words*: In a disyllabic word the patterns of the constituent syllables are as under:
- (i) /CVV/ : /ɛhāi/ all, /kɔi:/ difficult, /dei/ beautiful, /khai/ black, /boi/ fat, /chao/ cousin, /yui/ stale.
- (ii) /(C)VCV/ : /acho/ brother (elder) /čere/ bug, /zopo/ bullock, /ane/ aunt, /lama/ ewe, /awa/ father, /rama/ goat /pusa/ head.
- (iii) /(C)VCCV/ : /khaspa/ to accept, /sonfo/ alive, /wampu/ a bear /mɔlsa/ bed, /rušpa/ bone, /gormo/ a bowl, /sugci/ a comb, /hɔmbu/ cow, /zilpa/ dew, /phunzi/ hot, /dagpo/ husband, /keska/ a lie, /zinmo/ to quarrel.

- (iv) /**(C)VCCVC**/ : /semcan/ animal, /diksag/ sister-in-law,  
/khanmig/ chamber, /saŋgul/ earthquake, /šinthag/ fruit, /koncog/ god.
- (v) /**CCV(C)V**/ : /khyuce/ arm, /pyera/ basket, /kreca/ to bite,  
/phyuro/ night, /kwaca/ to boil, /draca/ to chase, /brəu/ a corn, /khyoi/ dry,  
/lwaca/ to forget, /gwaŋu/ fox, /kraï/ hard.
- (vi) /**CVCVC**/ : /cemed/ girl, daughter, /petañ/ door, /phitog/  
evening, /khutub/ fist /mecuñ/ MBW.
- (vii) /**CCVCCV**/ : /trakri/ balances, /khrilsa/ embrace, /pregci/  
broom, /phyagca/ to burry, /rwaksa/ to graze, /grogpo/ river, /grampa/  
cheek, /byarde/ to cling, /gyalde/ cure, /şragci/ shy.
- (viii) /**CCVCVC**/ : /kyəməŋr/ butter, /phyatəŋr/ forehead, /gyakhəb/  
needle.
- (ix) /**CCVCCVC**/ : /khwartum/ egg, /pragphug/ cave.
- (x) /**CVCCCV**/ : /gogste/ to caught.
- (xi) /**CVCCCCV**/ : /chongste/ a jump, /liŋste/ to float, /wangste/  
to leak/to drip.
- (xii) **CVCCCVCC**/ : /miŋgyags/ day after tomorrow.
- (xiii) **CVCCVC**/ : /yaŋskin/ dinner, /cobgyod/ 18.
- (xiv) **CVCCVCCC**/ : /zomraŋgs/ festival,  
/CVCCVC/ : /khogtoŋ/ hollow, /chuşrin/ crocodile,  
/CVCCVC/ : /čondrus/ labour, /bagstan/ marriage, /lagskur/  
grinding stone, /degsrin/ crab.  
/CVCCCV/ : /bandru/ taillessmouse, /bəbste/ to climb down,  
/lagspa/ steam.  
/CCVCCVC/ : /braŋgyəŋs/ a sattū preparation

A detailed analysis of conjunct consonants occurring as a complex interlude in these patterns shows that in the initial position it patterns with onset complex margins of the monosyllabic patterns and in the interludes (medial position) the usual pattern is of a plosive+plosive or a non-plosive + a plosive or a non-plosive *i.e.* it can be a /l/, /r/~/n/m/n/s/+ a plosive.

It can be a geminated consonant as well. In the final position again it patterns with the componential structure of monosyllabic words, *i.e.* a vd+sib. In a three number interlude or coda margin the usual combination is plosive/nasal+sibilant+plosive or a vd. plosive+a vd. plosive/cont. as in /zongs/, /zomrðñs/, /srans/. In a four member conjunct the constituents of the cluster are a nasal+a vd. plo.+sibilant +a vl. plo. as in /lingste/, /wañgste/, /leñgspa/ etc.

(c) *Polysyllabic words*: In trisyllabic words the pattern and the structure, and the sequence of syllabic constituents is attested as under:

- (i) /CCVCCVCCV/ : /srincinbu/ spider. (ii) /CCVCVCV/ : /srawači/ wheat.
- (iii) /C(C)VCCCVV/ : /iphstei/ sleepy.
- (iv) /CVCCVVCV/ : /mintaca/ abuse, /lðñpoche/ elephant.
- (v) /CVCCVCVC/ : /kurkutig/ ant, /pinkitig/ lizard.
- (vi) /CVCVCCV/ : /tə̀kðrci/ axe, /rðñippa/ weaver.
- (vii) /C(C)VCCCVCCA/ : /ə̀kstagca/ to call.
- (viii) /CCVCVCV/ : /trakðña/ carpenter, /kyoripa/ dancer.
- (ix) /CCVCVCVC/ : /phremolig/ butterfly.
- (x) /CVCCCVVC/ : /cagstrag/ chain of iron.
- (xi) /C(C)VCCCVVCV/ : /alkyoci/ chin.
- (xii) /CVVCV/ : /tauna/ deaf, /hauna/ a swing.
- (xiii) /CVCVCVC/ : /churubal/ frog, /lelocðn/ lazi, /phosocðn/ proud.
- (xiv) /CVVV/ : /zaoi/ lame.
- (xv) /CVCCVCCV/ : /tə̀nligca/ to tease

(xvi) /CVVCV/ : /zuigo/ lean and thin

(xvii) /CVCVCV/ : /somara/ Monday, /ropoce/ musk deer,  
/phececi/ small, younger.

In the matter of complex onset or coda margins or inter-ludes the trisyllabic pattern completely agrees with the monosyllabic or disyllabic patterns.

(d) *Qudri-syllabic*: There are only a limited number of compounded words containing four syllables.

/CVCCVCVCV/ : /dig-pa-ra-ci/ scorpion.

/CVCVCVCCV/ : /sotibθlpa/ frog.

### 3.2. Syllabic Division

In a disyllabic or polysyllabic word the final syllable is normally accented, consequently it is clearly detached from the penultimate syllable, e.g. /gθ-ri/ coconut, /tha-ca/ to fall, /θ: ku/ uncle, /dɔŋ-šte/ a jump, /ce-med/ girl, /minta-ca/ abuse, /kurku-tig/ ant, /tθkθr-ci/ axe.

In vocalic sequences too the syllabic division, on account of the above noted accentual feature, is so clear that both the syllable peaks stand apart from one another, as in /kθ-i/ difficult, /chi-i/ hot, /tru-i/ six, /se-i/ contemination, /bo-i/ fat, /no-i/ much, /ku-á/ well.

## 4. GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

### 4.1. WORD CLASSES

On the basis of their syntactic behaviour the formal classes of words recognizable in Gahri are—Nouns, Personal Pronouns, Demonstratives, Verbs, modifiers and function words. Usually, substantives (nouns and pronouns) and verbs enter into a number of complex morphological constructions whereas others do not. As such the former group can be termed as variable or flectional and the latter as invariable or non-flectional.

Of all the word classes that enter into morphological constructions, verbs are the most important from the point

of view of their complexity and of the central position occupied by them in an utterance.

## 4.2. WORD FORMATION

The morphological processes employed for various polymorphemic words are—juxtaposition, infixation, prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, compounding, internal change and replacement. Of these suffixation is the most commonly employed device, particularly, with regard to noun stem formations, nominal/pronominal inflections and verbal conjugations.

## 4.3. NOUN

A noun in Gahri belongs to the variable class of words. It functions as a subject or an object of a finite verb and is inflected for number and case categories with assigned gender, and also can be followed by certain postpositions.

### 4.3.1. Noun Classes

On the basis of dual number suffixes, nouns in Gahri can be divided into two categories, viz. human and the non-human. Nouns belonging to human class take -*nispi* as dual number marker and those belonging to non-human class take the term-*nisking* for it.

### 4.3.2. Article

There is no definite article in it. However, the indefinite article is usually expressed by the term for 'one', viz. /*tiki*/ or its shortened form, /*ti*/ as in /*khyuti*/ a dog, /*ekhðr-ti tañpo*/ a very honest, /*mi-ti-kog*/ to a man.

### 4.3.3. Noun Stems

Gahri attests three kinds of nominal stems, viz. primary, derived and compound. In general, in the languages of this group, most of the nominal stems are primary stems, though the number of derived and compound stems, too, is quite a large one.

As in other languages of the Tibeto-Himalayan group, in this too, most of primary stems belong to various linguistic families, viz. Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic and Indo-Aryan.

Primary stems belonging to Tibeto-Burman sources are mostly mono-syllabic, e.g. /mig/ eye, /lag/ hand, /khyu/ dog, /lo/ age, /gyəb/ back, /gəm/ box, /thil/ bottom, /ugs/ breath, /thog/ ceiling, /swəl/ charcoal, /prin/ cloud, /ro/ corpse, /yul/ country, /dud/ devil, etc.

But primary stems from other sources are both, mono-syllabic and polysyllabic, e.g. /kurkutig/ ant, /takərči/ axe, /cici/ baby, child, /trəkri/ balances, /khai/ black, /mama/ breast, /pregci/ broom, /bila/ cat, /kukri/ hen, /gəri/ coconut, /soi/ cold, /taṇa/ deaf, /pitañ/ door etc.

#### 4.3.4. Stem Formation

The normal mechanism of stem formation in Gahri is prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding.

(i) *Prefixation*: The mechanism of prefixation is normally confined to nouns denoting kin relationship, mostly belonging to Tibetan sources, e.g. /a-wa/ father, /a-ma/ mother, /a-cho/ brother, /a-gu~ a-ku/ uncle, /a-pa/ grand mother, /pe-cuñ/ father's sister's husband, /me-cuñ/ mother's brothers wife etc.

(ii) *Suffixation*: The most commonly used suffixes are-(i) /či/: /lang-či/ bull, /ñi-či/ sun, /pya-či/ bird, /pyu-či/ mouse, /koyo-či/ puppy, /khwar-či/ earthen jar, /khyo-či/ spoon, /por-či/ naval, /sra-či/ wheat, /pel-či/ milk, /prañ-či/ twig, /tum-či/ bud, /mebu-či/ glow worm, (ii) -/pa/: /ruspa/ bone, /tagur-pa/ neck, /pum-pa/ shoulder, /sok-pa/ feather, /lum-pa/ rivulet, /gog-pa/ garlic, /bəl-pa/ lizard, /cas-pa/ love, /dod-pa/ greed, /mag-pa/ bride groom, /dag-po/ husband, (iii) /ma~/mo/: /bag-ma/ bride groom, /chamo/ niece, cousin, /byan-mo/ wife; (iv) /-čən/: /lelo-čən/ lazy, /serna-čən/ a miser, /phoso-čən/ proud, /sem-čən/ animal, /digpa-čən/ sinner, /thagdog-čən/ zealous, /lolo-čən/ dull.

(iii) *Infixation*: Cases of infixation are not many. A few of them are attested as (i) -s-, /mig+s+pə/ eyebrow, (ii) -n-:



/sa + n + gul/ earthquake. (*sa* earth + *gul* to tremble), (iii) -m-:  
/chu + m + pyðr/ (*chu* 'water' + *pyðrca* winnowing) /chumpyðr/  
waterfall.

#### 4.3.5. Compound Stems

Like primary stems, compound stems, too, are very much a part of nominal constructions. The constituent elements of this pattern are nominal and adjectival stems (free forms). Conveying a copulative meaning. For the purpose of nominal inflections these stems too are treated as primary stems. The following type of compound stems are attested in it.

##### (a) Noun + Noun = Noun

/la?g/ hand + /gyðb/ back = /la?gyðb/ back of the hand.

/syawa/ deer + /rðbcu/ ten horns = /syawarðbcu/ stag

/ri/ hill + /boñ/ ass = /riboñ/ rabbit

/mig/ eye + /pu/ hair = /migspu/ eye lash

/ðlkyoci/ chin + /chðm/ hair = /ðlchðm/ beard.

/bromo/ a goddess + /lalaci/ kid = /bromolalaci/ rain bow

/brañši/ honey + /bu/ worm = /brañšibu/ = bee

/chu/ water + /şrin/ germs = /chuşrin/ crocodile

/soti/ water + /bðlpa/ lizard = /sotibðlba/ frog.

/ruşpa/ bone + /bðlpa/ lizard = /ruzbðl/ tortoise

/me/ fire + /buçi/ worm = /me buci/ glow worm

/te/ big + /bu/ worm = /tebu/ snake

/digpa/ sin + /sagpa/ collection = /diksak/ wife, woman

/mðn/ medicine + /çi/ grass = /mðnçi/ herb

/numa/ breast + /ici/ juice = /nuçi/ curd.

/mðn/ medicine + /phod/ manure = /menphod/ spices

/ma?g/ war + /mi/ man = /ma?gmi/ army

/prag/ rock + /phug/ hole = /pragphug/ cave

/bags/ bride + /tðn/ festival = /bagstðn/ marriage

/ʃrincin/ fabric + /bu/ insect = /ʃrincinbu/ spider

/khəŋpa/ house + /mig/ eye = /khəŋmig/ room

/rəz/ cotton plant + /bəl/ wool = /rəzbəl/ wool.

/lha/ god + /yul/ country = /lhayul/ heaven

**(b) Adjective + Noun = Noun**

/cog/ standing + /boči/ finger = /cogboči/ index finger

/kil/ centre + /boči/ finger = /kilboči/ middle finger

/mər/ pious + boči/ finger = /mərboči/ ring finger

/thid/ melted + /mər/ butter = /thidmər/ ghee

/gyə/ great + /cho/ lake = /gyəcho/ sea.

/lei/ yellow + /mənphod/ spices = /leimənphod/ turmeric

/grəm/ grinding + /swa/ teeth = /grəmswa/ grinding teeth

**(c) Noun + Adjective = Noun**

/khog/ belly + /tong/ < /toŋpa/ empty = /khogtoŋ/ hollow

/ñima/ day + /phyed/ half = /ñimaphyed/ noon

/ma/ not + /bruši/ mixed = /mabruši/ pure

/ser/ gold + /zopa/ maker = /serzopa/ goldsmith

/chwa?g/ thorn + /seb/ middle = /chwəgseb/ bush.

**(d) Noun + verb = Noun**

/chu/ water + /pyərca/ winnowing = /chumpyər/ waterfall.

/min/ name + /taca/ to call = /mintaca/ abuse

/sa/earth + /gul/ to tremble = /saŋgul/ earthquake

**(e) Noun + Adverb = Noun**

/šin/ tree + /tho?g/ above = /šintho?g/ fruit.

/la?g/ hand + /thil/ bottom = /la?gthil/ palm.

**(f) Noun + Verb + Noun = Noun.**

/zamin/ food + /yo/ to cook, + /sa/ place = /zaminyosa/ kitchen

(g) Numeral + Numeral = Numeral.

cui + tik = cutik eleven

cui + ñis = cuñis twelve

cui + sumi = cusum thirteen

cui + ña = coan fifteen

cui + trui = cuzdruk sixteen

cui + ñizi = curnis seventeen

cui + gei = cobgyad eighteen

(h) *Reduplication*: Another common device of stem formation in Gahri is reduplication of stem itself. For instance, /don-don/ deep, /ci-ci/ baby, child, /dab-dab/ blunt, /kir-kir/ round, circle, /cel-cel/ round (small), /zel-zel/ round (big), /icipañpañ/ enough, /mul mul/ luke warm, /lala/ song, /hyab-hyab/ twinkling, /čhai-čhai/ whole, /hyar-hyar/ again, /preñpreñ/ back bone, /lolocan/dull, etc.

Besides, there are some onomatopoeic constructions which also undergo the phenomenon of reduplication, e.g. /kañon-koñon/ bells hung on the neck of horses or mule, /ciñin-ciñin/ small bells hung on the neck of animals.

#### 4.4. MORPHOPHONEMIC ASPECT OF COMPOUND STEM FORMATION

Though the mechanism of compound stem formation is quite simple, i.e. joining the constituents of a compound stem without any change, yet there are a few cases in which certain morphophonemic changes also take place. These are-(1) elision, as in /əlchəm/ beard (= *əlkyoci* chin + *chəm* hair), (2) infixation as in /sangul/ earthquake (= *sa* earth + *gul* to tremble), (3) contraction, as in /ruzbal/ tortoise (*ruṣpa* bone + *bəlpā* lizard), /diksa/ wife (= *dikpa* sin + *sagpa* collection), /nuci/ curd (= *snuma* breast + *ici* juice), /bagstən/ marriage (= *bagma* bride + *stan* festival).

#### 4.5. NOMINAL INFLECTION

Nouns are inflected for number and case only, there being no grammatical category of gender.

## 4.5.1. Number

The number category is primarily attested with nouns, pronouns, pronominal adjectives and verbs. In nouns and pronouns it is tied up with case category and in verbs with person, tense and aspect categories.

In nominal inflections there are only two morphologically marked numbers. *viz.* singular and plural. Dual, if desirable is indicated by suffixing the term *nispi* with nouns or pronouns standing for human beings and *nisking* with nouns standing for non-human beings and things, *e.g.* /hin nispi/ we two, /mi nispi/ two men, but /srðns niskin/ two horses, /thðb niskin/ two hearths, etc.

In all the cases the singular number is left unmarked or it has only a zero morpheme, but in nominal stems plurality is marked by affixing a plural marker to the stem or the modifier, if any. It is, however, left unmarked if the noun is qualified by a numeral other than one, or by a quantifier, meaning 'many', 'all', 'some' several etc.

The plural marker has two allomorphs, *viz.* *zi* and *ši*, the former occurring with stems ending in a vowel, a nasal or a voiced consonant, and the latter with stems ending in a voiceless consonant, *e.g.* /mi-zi/ men., /buca-zi/ boys, /khyu-zi/ dogs, /mig-zi/ eyes, /laʔg-zi/ hands, /yul-zi/ countries, /kur-zi/ knives, /gðm-zi/ boxes, /mðn-zi/ drugs, but /srðns-ši/ horses, /cemed-ši/ girls (due to devoicing of *d*). In case of modifier it follows it, as in /mi zā-i-zi/ a good men.

A non-suffixal plural is formed by suffixing a numeral like /sum/ three, /na/ five etc, or terms like /čhā-i/ all, /noi/ many, /cunati/ some etc. as in /mi sum/ man three, /buca chā-i/ boy all, /hðmbu noi/ cow many, etc.

## 4.5.2. Gender

Like other Tibeto-Himalayan languages Gahri too does not recognize any grammatical gender, nor there is any inbuilt prefixo-suffixal system to distinguish the gender of a substantive. Recognition of natural gender too does not affect in any way the structure of other constituents of a syntactic string.

As such from morphological point of view, all nouns or pronouns can be treated as genderless. Consequently, all animate objects which do not have distinctive terms for their male and female beings are epicenes and become masculine or feminine solely by virtue of the addition of gender marker particles denotative of 'male' and 'female' or 'he' and 'she' suffixed to the genderless term. This device of gender distinction, too, is confined to non-human animate beings only.

#### 4.5.2.1. *Mechanism of Gender Differentiation*

As a general rule, all stems, except the paired groups in which male and female counterparts are denoted by different denotative terms, such as /awa/ father: /ama/ mother; /tete/ grand father: /apa/ grand mother: /chao/ grandson: /chamo/ grand daughter; /buca/ boy: /cemed/ girl; /srə̀ns/ horse: /godma/ mare; /lañ-či/ bullock: /həmbu/ cow. All other animate nouns are epicenes or common gender. In case of specification, their gender can be indicated by suffixing the particles like /pho/ ~ /po/ male and /mo ~ ma/ female, to them; as in /tág/ tiger: /tág-mo/ tigress; /khyu/ dog: /mo-khyu/ bitch; /gyə̀lpo/ king: /gyə̀lmo/ queen; /gwálpə/ blind (m.): /gwálmə/ blind (f.) etc. In a colloquial speech, however, the use of these gender markers is left out, if it is clear from the context itself.

In a few cases the suffixal type of gender differentiation too, is attested, as in /ʃaṇṭe/ old man, /ʃaṇzi/ old woman.

#### 4.5.3. *Cases and Syntactic Correlation*

Case is a grammatical category which is expressed either by means of case suffixes, affixed to the bare stems of substantives or by means of post-positions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal or pronominal stems. In some cases the case suffixes are tied up with number suffixes, but in others they stand apart from one another.

(a) *Nominative*: The nominative or the subject of an intransitive verb is the bare stem in the singular and takes only a number suffix in the plural.

(b) *Acc. dative-locative*: From the point of case markers, the accusative, dative and the locative cases have identical case markers, particularly when the verb belongs to the transitive class. In this case as many as three allomorphs are attested in the singular number and two in the plural number. Their distribution is as under:—

(i) *-rog*. It is used with all vowel ending stems, as in /gi-rog/ to me, /thəzu-rog/ to that, /buca-rog/ to the son, /awa-rog/ to the father, /thəzu cici-rog/ he care/ he beats the child, /mi-rog/ to a man. The only exception to this pattern is the *-i*-ending pronominal stem *chài* 'all', which takes /-dog/ instead of /-rog/, as in /chăi-dog-ci/ from among all.

(ii) *-dog*. It is used with stems ending in a nasal or a liquid as in /təl-dog/ to him, /hən-dog/ to you, /sriñ-dog/ to a sister, /yul-dog/ to, for a country, /gəm-dog/ to, far a box, /mən-dog/ for medicine, /khur-dog/ for, to a knife. In this case /rog/ also can be used alternately.

(iii) *-tog*. It is used with all other stems ending in a plosive or a sibilant, as in /mig-tog/ to, for eye, /lɛp-tog/ for a leaf, /cemed-tog/ for the girl, /phos-tog/ for a clothe, /leks-tog/ for a village, /srəns-tog/ ċi dōn soti da/ give grass and water to the horse.

(iv) Besides these, there is one solitary example of /tiki/ an indefinite article, with which it is attested as *-kog* as well, e.g. /mi-ti-kog/ to a man, side by side /tiki-rog/ 'id'.

(v) However, in a colloquial speech only /g~əg/, a reduced form of the above noted acc. case markers, is also attested with vowel ending stems. as in /swag/ to a tooth < /swa/ tooth, /pečag/ to a book < /peca/ book, /bətig/ to a pan < /bətɪ/, /ñugug/ to a pen < /ñugu/pen, /teteg/ to a grand father < /tete/ grand father, /kəlčog/ to a window < /kəlči/ window.

The plural markers of the acc. dative case are *-zog* and *-sog*.

(i) *-zog*— It occurs with stems ending in a vowel a nasal or a liquid, *i.e.* which take /-zi/ as a plural marker. It seems

that it is a contracted form of the plural marker *-zi* + the case marker *-og*, e.g. /hin-zog/ to, for us, /hən-zog/ to you, /mi-zog/ to men, /təl-zog/ to them, /ini-zog/ to you (Hon.), /ʃrɪn-zog/ to the sisters, /buca-zog/ to, for the children, /yul-zog/ for the country, /khur-zog/ to, for a knife, etc.

(ii) *-ʃog*. It occurs with stems ending in a plosive or a sibilant, i.e. the stems which take /-ʃi/ as a plural marker, as in /mig-ʃog/ to, for the eyes, /ləb-ʃog/ to the leaves, /dikʃak-ʃog/ to the wives, or elder sisters-in-law, /phos-ʃog/ to, for the cloths.

(c) *Ergative Case*: As in other T. H. languages, in this, too, the subject of the transitive verb takes the ergative case suffix. The suffixes used to express this case are *-zi* and *-či* in the singular, and *-či* in the plural. The occurrence of the allomorphs in the singular is conditioned by their phonetic environments, i.e. *-zi* with stems ending in a vowel, a nasal or a continuant and *-či* with other consonant ending stems; e.g. /gi-zi/ by me, /han-zi/ by you, /təl-zi/ by him, /buča-zi/ by the boy, /khur-zi/ by, with the knife, etc. or /mig-či/ with an eye, /laʔg-či/ by, with hand, /cemed-či/ by the girl, /phos-či/ with, by a clothe-etc. as in /mentog-či khedza/ struck with a flower. /čemed-či pitəñ əlza/ the girl opened the door. *-či*. It is a plural suffix and occurs with all types of nominal or pronominal stems, as in /hin-či/ by us, /hən-či/ by you, /təl-či/ by him, /the-či/ by this, /buča-či/ by boys, /lag-či/ by, with hands, /khur-či/ with, by knives, /phos-či/ by, with clothes, /buca-zi cemed-tog thəñza/ a boy saw a girl, /cemed-či buca-rog thəñza/ girls saw boys.

(d) *Instrumental*: The suffixes of the instrumental case are identical with the suffixes of the ergative case, as in /thəzu takə-r-zi buʔa tubcare/ he cuts the tree with an axe; /pyaci sokpa-zi pənzare/ birds fly with wings; /dilliči ini-zi gi-rog kha ridmen/ what is brought for me by you from Delhi; /buca-zi lag-či~beka-zi khedza/ The boy struck with a hand~rod; /təb-či/ with canes.

(e) *Sociative*: The sociative case is expressed with the help of the post-position, /dəñ ñampo/, as in /han dəññampo

her-ti su minza/ who was the other person with you; /təl inzi awa dən ñampo elmen hen/ he has to go with his father; /rəsi dən/ with a rope, etc.

(f) *Ablative*: The suffix of the ablative case is /-či/, as in /dilli-či/ from Delhi, /nuñ-či/ from there, /rwañ-či/ from the mountain, but in case of nouns and pronouns it is preceded by the locative markers, as in /lagtog-či/ from the hand, /buṭag-či ləb dedmen/ leaf falls from the tree, /sitazi ram-dog-či əmci suza/ Sita asked Ram the way, /rig-tog-či/ from the field, /gi-rog-či/ from me, /hinzog-či/ from us, /mig-tog-či/ from the eye, /mig-sog-či/ from eyes, /lag-dog-či/ from the hand, /gya-chozog-čl/ from seas, /rig-šog-či/ from fields.

(g) *Genitive*: There are as many as three suffixes in the singular and three in the plural which are used to express this relationship. The allomorphs of the singular are: -i, -ki, and -gi, all phonetically conditioned by the endings of the nominal or pronominal stems.

(i) *-i*: It occurs with all pronominal and nominal stems ending in a vowel, as /gi-i/ my, /tə-i/ his, /the-i/ of this, /buca-i/ of the boy, /agu-i/ of the uncle, /soti-i/ of water.

(ii) *gi*: It is used with stems ending in a nasal or a liquid, as in /ʃriñ-gi/ of the sister, /yul-gi/ of the country, /gəm-gi/ of the box, /lan-gi/ of the answer, /khur-gi/ of the knife.

(iii) *-ki*: This suffix occurs with stems ending in a consonant or a sibilant, as in /mig-ki/ of the eye, /lag-ki/ of the hand, /ləb-ki/ of the leaf, /phos-ki/ of the clothes. In fact, the variant *-gi* occurs with stems ending in a voiced consonant and *-ki* with unvoiced consonants. In the above examples the stem final voiced consonants are devoiced in this position, hence take *-ki* instead of *-gi*. The suffix *-gi* is sometimes realized as /gyi/ as well.

The plural suffixes of this case are *-i*, *-zi*, *-ʒi*, and their distribution is as under:

(i) *-i*: It occurs with first and second person pronouns, as in /hi-i/ our, /hə-i/ your, alternately /hənzi/ as well.



(ii) *-zi*: With stems ending in a vowel, a nasal or a liquid as in /təl-zi/ his, /the-zi/ of this, /thəzu-zi/ of that, /yul-zi/ of the country, /ʃrin-zi/ of the sister, /gəm-zi/ of the box, /khur-zi/ of the knife.

(iii) *-ʃi*: It occurs with all other consonant ending stems, as in /mig-ʃi/ of eyes, /lag-ʃi/ of hands, /cemed-ʃi/ of girls', /phos-ʃi/ of clothes, etc.

(h) *Locative*: The use of locative markers, both suffixal and post-positional, as in other languages of this region, is mostly restricted to inanimate objects or lower species of animates. There are as many as four allomorphs of the locative suffix employed to express the sense of 'on'. These are *-doʔg/*, */roʔg/*, */-ʔog/* and */-g/*. Their distribution is as under:

- (i) */-doʔg/*: As in acc. -dative, in locative too, it is suffixed to stems ending in a nasal or liquid, as in /grən-dəʔg/ on the stone, /gəm-dəʔg/ on the box, /zer-dəʔg/ on the nail of iron, /nəl-dəʔg/ on the silver, /dən-dəʔg/ on the belly.
- (ii) */-og/*: Occurrence of */-og/* is attested with nouns ending in *-i*, in which, morphophonemically, the stem final *-i* is elided before the suffixation of */-og/*, e.g. /əmci +og/ > /əmcoʔg/ on the way, /kursi +og/ > /kursoʔg/ on the chair.
- (iii) */-rog~g/*: Allomorphs */rog/* and */-g/* can occur in free variation after stems ending in a vowel other than *-i*, e.g. /lama-roʔg/ on the sheep, /bərəkəg~bərəkəroʔg/ on the rod from /bərka/ rod, /puʃag~puʃa-roʔg/ on the head, but /lāsmi-rog/ on the woman. In this case the use of */-g/* is more common than that of the */-rog/*, as in /zopog/ on the creeper < /zopo/, /həmbug/ on the cow, /pecag/ on the book < /peca/, /perag/ on the basket < /pera/, /kuʃug/ on the apple, /buʃag/ on the tree, /ʃugug/ on the paper, /lāche-g/ on the elder sister.

When the implied sense of the locative is 'in' or 'inside' the object then it is expressed with the particles (i) /ə́/, /uá/

or /-n/ with suitable morphophonemic adjustments, as in /soti+ən/ > /sotin/ in the water, /baɭin/ in the pot, /cənɖa+ən/ > /cənɖən/ in the pocket, /silti+ən/ > /siltin/ in the rain, /mun/ in the snow, /pyacuñ/ in the bird, /kuşuñ/ in the apple, /recuñ/ in the ear. (ii) /-kuñ/ ~ /kyuñ/, /guñ/ ~ /gyuñ/, occurring with stems ending in /s, d, l, n/ respectively as in /nəɖd-kyuñ/ in sickness, /nod-kyuñ/ in the pot, /leks-kuñ/ in the village, /pus-kuñ/ in the knee, /phud-kyuñ/ in the bag, /set-guñ/ in the mirror, /mən-gyuñ/ in the medicine. Plural markers of this case are similar to that as attested for Acc. dat. case, as in /rig-zog/ in the fields, /lama-zog/ on sheep, /pus-şog/ on knees, but in case of 'in' it is /şuñ/ and /zuñ/, as in /pus-şun/ in knees, /phəɖd-şuñ/ in bags, /set-zuñ/ in mirrors.

But besides the above noted suffixes, the sense of locative is also expressed by postpositions. The most commonly used postposition is /nanag/, which follows the genitive case form of the noun, as in /pera-i nanag/ in the basket, /me-i nanag/ in the fire, /cags me-i nanag cacan phunzi kyemer/ iron becomes hot on putting in the fire.

(i) *Post-positions*: There are many postpositions which are used to express various other relations of nouns. Some of these are—/kəɖchən/ near, /mañ/ in, to, /nañ/ together with, /bon-threg/ for the sake of, /duci-mən/ in the presence of /khoci/ behind, /nuñ-ci/ from, etc.

#### 4.5.4. Models of Nominal Inflection

Full paradigms of a couple of representative nominal stems are as follows:

(a) Vowel ending: /buča/ boy.

	Sg.	pl.
Nominative	buča	buča-zi
Acc. dative	buča-rog	buča-şog
Ergative/Agentive	buča-zi	buča-çi
Ablative	buča-rog-çi	buča-şog-çi
Genitive	buča-i	buča-zi

Locative as in acc. dative.

(b) Consonant ending: /cemed/ girl.

Nominative	cemed	cemed-ši
Acc. dative	cemed-tog	cemed-šog
Ergative/Agentive	cemed-či	cemed-čhi
Ablative	cemed-tog-či	cemed-šog-či
Genitive	cemed-ki	cemed-ši

(c) Liquid/nasal: /yul/ country.

Nominative	yul	yul-ži
Acc. dative	yul-dog	yul-žog
Erg./Ag.	yul-ži	yul-čhi
Ablative	yul-dog-ži	yul-žog-čhi
Gen.	yul-gi	yul-ži

## 5. PRONOUNS

Semantically, all pronominal stems are divisible into five classes, viz. (1) personal, (2) demonstrative, (3) interrogative, (4) indefinite, (5) Reflexive. All of these take number and case suffixes. In case of number personal, demonstrative and reflexive pronouns are inflected for three numbers in which only the duality and the plurality is marked by their respective suffixes and singularity is left unmarked.

Moreover, on the basis of their paradigmatic differences these stems form two groups, viz. personal and non-personal. These differences are recognizable in the following terms.

(1) Paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share all the characteristics of animate nouns, but not the other.

(2) Their contracted forms are represented in verbal forms as their subject or object.

(3) The first person pronoun has two different stems for the dual and plural numbers, one for inclusive and the other for exclusive sense.

(4) The pronoun of the second person has distinctive stems to distinguish between ordinary and honorific terms.

(5) All non-personal pronouns, in their stem forms can function as a modifier of a noun head which personal pronouns cannot.

Moreover, from the point of their flexional bases the second and the third person pronouns maintain their stem elements constantly in all numbers and cases, whereas in the first person the basic stem is replaced by different stems in the dual and plural numbers. All these characteristics of all these pronouns may be illustrated by the following table:

Person	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Ord.	hon.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.
1st person	gi	—	hiñ	erañ	hiñ-zi	erañ-zi
2nd person	hðn	ini		hðn nispi	—	hðnzi
3rd person	təl	—	təl nispi	—	təl-zi	—

### 5.1. Inflection

All the pronominal stems take the number and case suffixes in the same way as the nominal stems do. Paradigms of these pronouns are as under:

#### 1st Person

Case	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		excl.	Incl.	excl.	Inclusive
Nominative	gi	hiñ nispi	erañ nispi	hiñzi	erañ-zi
Acc.-dative	girog			hiñ-zog	erañžog
Ergative	gizi			hiñ-či	
Ablative	górog-či			hinzog-či	
Genitive	gi-i			hi-i	

## 2nd Person

Case	Singular		Dual		Plural	
	Ord.	hon.	Ord.	hon.	Ord.	hon.
Nominative	hən	ini	hənnispi	ininispi	hənzi	iniži
Acc.-dative	həndog	inirog	hənzog- nispi	inižog	hənžog	inižog
Ergative	hən-zi	inizi	hənči	iniči	hənchi	iniči
Ablative	hən- dogči }	inirogči			hən- zog-či }	inirogči
Genitive	h ə i	ini-i			bənzi-	iniži

## 3rd Person

The 3rd person pronoun, like demonstrative pronouns, is neither represented in verbal forms nor follows the dichotomy of honorific and non-honorific or inclusive and exclusive. But in other forms of its inflection it follows other personal pronouns. The dual forms are obtained by suffixing the term /nispi/ 'two', 'both', to the plural forms of respective cases. It is inflected as under:

Case	Singular	Plural
Nom.	tə-l	təl-zi
Acc. dative	təl-dog	təl-žog
Ergative	təl-zi	təl-či
Ablative	təl-dogči	təl-žog-či
Gen.	tə-i	təl-ži

The plural forms of all the pronouns recorded by Grierson (LSI, III Pt. I, P. 474) are as *hiñ-zi-či* 'we' (excl.), *erañ-zi-či* 'we' (incl.), *hən-zi-či* 'you', *təl-zi-či* 'they', but today these forms have fallen in line with the dual forms.

### 5.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns /the/ 'this', and /thəzu/ 'that' are inflected exactly like other vowel ending nominal or pronominal stems.

### 5.3. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronominal stems are: /su/ who? and /khə/ what?. With regard to their inflection it has been noticed that the stem /su/ is inflected for all numbers and cases in the same way as the demonstrative pronoun, but not the stem /khə/ which can be inflected for a few forms and that too in the singular number only.

Indefinite pronouns are formed from the interrogative stems by adding /re/ to their inflected forms, as in /su-zi-re/ by anyone, /khə-re/ any, or /chāi/ all.

### 5.4. Relative Pronouns

There are no separate stems for relative pronouns. It is expressed through relative particles either, which is usually formed by adding the suffix /čug/, as in /te-zi-čug buča/ the elder son, /phece-čug-či/ by the younger one, = by him who was the younger one. Sometimes interrogative pronouns are also employed to serve this purpose, as in /nor khə t̪i-čug chāi/ all the property that he had.

/sure ranañ, t̪l yani/ whosoever comes, he will go

/khə dou rinnan re data/ whatever you ask for will be given.

### 5.5. Reflexive Pronouns

Gahri has a full series of reflexive pronouns parallel to personal pronouns, for both the numbers.

/gi ingi-i l̪n ingizi likata/ I myself do my work.

/hin h̪ngi l̪n h̪nche likate/ we shall do our work.

/h̪n̪ in̪i l̪n in̪izi likata/ you yourself will do your work.

/hən inizi lən iniṭhe likatad/ you (pl.) will do your work.

/təl inzi lən inizi likata/ he himself shall do his work.

/təlzi inziḷi lən likathad~təd/ they will do their work.

## 6. ADJECTIVES

Structurally nominal modifiers belong to the invariable class of words, but on the basis of their syntactic position and semantic function they are treated as a separate class of words. It may be interesting to note that in it most of adjectives end in *-i*, e.g. /chāi/ all, /mərəi/ bad, /tezi/ big, /khəi/ black, /sūi/ clean, /soi/ cold, /sei/ dirty, /loi/ easy, /thoi/ high, /yāi/ light in weight, /kyui/ long, /noi/ much/ plenty, /nūi/ new, /dei/ pleasant, /məi/ red, /boi/ fat, /ši/ white, /zāi/ sharp, /khei/ sweet, /tui/ thick, /bei/ thin etc.

Similarly, there are adjectives which end in *-po*, or *-pa*, as in /mən-po/ many, /soṇ-po/ alive, /saṇ-po/ clever, /phyug-po/ rich, good, /ces-pa/ dear, /gyogs-pa/ quick, /khəs-pa/ active/ wise, etc.

Besides, there are some which do not fall in a particular pattern, thus, /keska/ false, /phunzi/ hot, /phececi/ small, /ñeme/ nice, /tunig/ short, etc.

In some cases reduplicated stems, too, are attested, as in /ḍoṇ-ḍoṇ/ deep, /gəd-gəd/ rough, /sil-sil/ smooth, etc.

### 6.1. Formation of Adjectives

Most of the adjectives in Gahri are basic or non-derivative, but there are a few like /saṇ-po/ clever, /khəs-pa/ wise /active, etc. which seem to have been formed by adding formative suffixes, like *-po*, *-pa*, /sum-pa/ third, etc. to the basic root forms of them. Similarly, adjectives like /sil-sil/ 'smooth, /ḍoṇ-ḍoṇ/ deep, etc. clearly show the device of reduplication adopted in the formation of the adjectives of this class.

### 6.2. Placement of Adjectives

Normally, as in Tibeto-Burman in it too, a modifier follows the noun head it modifies, as in /lən epo-ti/ (lit.) work good one=a good work, /pyaci phececi-ti/ (lit.) bird small one=a

small bird, /təlzi hāmbu ici?g tād/ (lit.) by him cow how many possessed=how many cows has he?, /mun chāi/ whole night, /g-i iṣring ti ta/ I have one sister, but now a days, may be under the influence of Indo-Aryan, its attributive use also is attested, as in /thəzu leks kuñ ici?g mi gwa?g/ how many persons live in that village?, /gii sumi sriñ ta/ I have three sisters. However, the pronominal adjectives always precede the noun head, as in /gi-i sriñ/ my sister, /gi-i sumi sriñ ta/ I have three sisters, /hi-i leks/ our village, /hēi buča/ your son.

In a noun phrase containing more than one modifier, the order of different classes of adjectives is, more or less, fixed. Normally, the qualitative or quantitative modifier precedes the numeral modifier, thus, /hyantheg to?g pyaci phececi mḍi nisking zod-ci gwa?/ (lit.) 'roof on bird small red two are seated'=two small red birds are seated on the roof.

In case of an intensifier it precedes all others, thus, /gizi khai khyu-ti thañmen/ I saw a black dog, (lit. I (Erg.) black dog-one saw), but /gizi ekhḍr khai-ti khyu ti thañ men/ (lit.) I very black-a-dog-a saw=I saw a very black dog?or/ gizi ḍkhḍri tezi khai khyu ti thañmen/ (lit.) I (Erg.) very big black dog a saw=I saw a very big black dog, /the buca ekhḍr ti toñpo ni/ this boy is very honest.

### 6.3. Degrees of Comparison

As in many other languages of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman groups, in this two the comparison of degrees of adjectives is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the ablative case and the object compared in the nominative case, thus, /tḍi acho tḍi sring-dog-ḍi kyui ni/ (his brother his sister from tall is)=his brother is taller to his sister or /tḍl hinzi acho-rog-ḍi noi boi ni/ (he his brother more fat is)=he is fatter to his brother. But in case of a comparison among more than two objects i.e. in superlative degree, the particle of comparison, *chai bḍsta* 'than all', is placed before the modifier with which the comparison is made, as in /tḍi nu chāi bḍsta not sakyet ta/he has more land than all (others have). But according to Grierson (LSI. III. Pt. I, p. 472) *bḍsta* is used for compara-



tive degree as well, as in /thəzu bəsta zəi/ him than good= better than him.

## 7. NUMERALS

Syntactically, numerals in Gahri, share the position of modifiers, and are, therefore, sub-category of adjectives. Formal classes of this class of words are –(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregitives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, and (6) Approximatives. The important forms and functions of some of these are as under:

### 7.1. Cardinals

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from one to twenty are as follows:

tike	one	cutik	eleven
nis-(king/-pi)	two	cuñis	twelve
sumi	three	cusum	thirteen
pī	four	cupi	fourteen
nai	five	coañ	fifteen
trui	six	cuzdruk	sixteen
ñizi	seven	curnis	seventeen
gyei	eight	cobgyəð	eighteen
gu	nine	curgu	nineteen
cui	ten	niza/ñiza	twenty

It is evident from the above that the numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to twenty polymorphemic which are obtained by combining the appropriate allomorphs of the term for ten as the first member and of those of one to nine as second member of it, but in the case of twenty it is reversed, *i.e.* its order becomes as 'two', 'ten' (Tib. ñi+sa).

As in Munda, in it, too, the counting of higher numerals is based on 'twenty'. Consequently, 25 is /nizai nai/ (20, 5, and 30 is /nizai cui/ (20, 10) and 31 /nizai cutik/ (20, 11), 39

/nizai curgu/ (20, 19). The term for forty becomes /nissa/=\*/nis-niza/ (2, 20) and 45 /nissai nai/ (2, 20, 5). In this way, upto 59 the term for 'forty' forms the first component of the compounded term and the terms for 1-19 as the second components. 'Sixty' is again /sum-niza/ (3, 20) and this base as usual continues upto 79. The term for 80 on the pattern of vigesimal system of counting is obtained as /pi-niza/ (4, 20) which forms the basis of counting upto 99. The term for 100 is *gya*. Thus the series of 1-19, 21-39, 41-59, 61-79, and 81-99 are formed by using the appropriate allomorphs of forms for 10, 20, 40, 60, and 80 as first components of the compound terms of these series; and the terms for 1-9, in the case of 11-19, and 1-19 in the case of others as the second components of respective series.

It may, however, be noted that in the case of combining terms from 11-19 some of the Gahri terms for 1-9 have been replaced by Tibetan terms, as in *cu-ñis* (12), *cuz-druk* (16), *cur-nis* (17), *cob-gyāḍ* (18), *niza* (20). Besides, in the process of combination of different morphs some morphophonemic changes, such as elision of the final -i of terms 1-9, change of *cu*-(10) into *co*-(15), *cuz*-(16), *-cur*-(17, 19), *cob*-(18), augmentation of -i after the terms like /niza/ and /nissa/ for further counting are notable.

Numerals above hundred are counted by adding the specific numeral terms, from 1-99 to the term for hundred in question with the connective term /dāñ/ 'and', as in /gya dāñ tiki/ 101, /gya dāñ niza/ 120, etc. Rounded figures of hundreds are formed simply by suffixing the term *gya* hundred to the intended series from 1-9, as in /nib-gya/ 200, /sum-gya/ 300, /ñāb-gya/ 500. Units above hundred are taken from Tibetan, e.g. /stong/ 1000, /thi/ 10,000, /bum/ 10,000. But now a days the Indo-Aryan terms /hāzar/ and /dās hāzar/, /lakh/ also are equally current.

## 7.2. Ordinals

The use of ordinal numbers is not common except for the first three terms, which are- /dāñpo/ first, /nispa/ second, /sumpa/ third. In case of necessity of their use these can be

formed by suffixing *-pa* to the numeral of the desired order, as in /zi-pa/ 4th, /na-pa/ 5th, /duk-pa/ 6th, /dun-pa/ 7th, /gyɔ̃d-pa/ 8th, /gu-pa/ 9th and /cu-pa/ 10th, all Tibetan.

### 7.3. Aggregatives

In the use of aggregative suffixes Gahri makes a distinction between human and non-human objects. For instance, to denote the sense of 'both' it is *-kir* in the case of non-human objects, as in /peca-niskir/ both the books, and *-per* in the case of human beings, as in /nisper/ both (persons). /hin nisper kocci iltheg/ both of us will go tomorrow. Similarly, /peca naire/ all the five books, but /mi namir/ all the five persons. All the three is /summer/ for both. Similarly, all (both for human and non-sons human) is /chāi/, as in /mi chāi chāi/ all the persons and /buṭa chāi chāi/ all the trees.

### 7.4. Indefinitives

These are—/khaci/ some, as in /mi khaci ekha/ some persons are going, /chāi/ all, as in /mi chāi chāi elcha/ all persons have gone.

Distributive numerals, are expressed, as /rere/ each, every, as in /mi rere/ every man; /kyum rere/ every house, etc.

### 7.5. Multiplicatives

The usual way of expressing them is to prefix or suffix the terms /cher~šer/ to the numeral expressing the number of time, as in /chertiki/ once, /ñišer/ twice, /sumišer/ thrice. The sense of times is expressed by adding the term *-dəp* to the desired number, as in /ñil dəp/ two times (Tib. ñis dəb), /sum-dəp/ three times, /pi-dəp/ four times.

### 7.6. Approximatives

The sense of approximation is expressed by using the item for the specific numeral preceded by the term /halaṃ/ (Tib.) about, as in /halaṃ na mi/ about five persons. Approximative phrases are also formed by using a set of two numerals in a

consecutive or random order, as in /cui-cutik/ about 10-11, /cuañ niza/ about 15-20 or /niz-gyab~sum-gyab/ 2-3 etc.

### 7.7. Fractionals

The most commonly used fractional numerals in Gahri are /paw/  $1/4$ , /phyed/  $1/2$ , /səwa/  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , /phyedāñ niskiñ/  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , /phyedāñ sumi/  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , /phyedāñpi/  $3\frac{1}{4}$ . Terms like 'one third', two thirds, three fourths etc. are not used.

### 7.8. Measurements and Counting of Age

The commonly used native terms of measurement are- /kuci/ from the point of top of the thumb to the point of tip of the little finger, /khrui/ from the point of elbow to the tip of the middle finger, /boɪhai/ finger, /kəŋgəi/ from the point of elbow to the point of closed fist, /dom/ length of both hands spread in both directions. Counting of age is done either by means of the cycle of 12 years, called /lo/ in Tibetan system or by the term /biñ/ years, as in /id biñ lebza/ what is your age= how many years have you reached, /gyi zipcu biñ lebza/ I have reached 40 years, i.e. I am 40 years old.

## 8. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of Gahri is quite complex. It shows various kinds of complexities in its conjugational structure, which will be briefly indicated in the following paragraphs. In this all verbal stems are primary and may belong to the class of transitive or intransitive verbs. The most distinguishing feature of the transitive verbs is this that the subject of this class of verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case. Whereas that of the intransitives is in the nominative/direct case. Moreover, a transitive verb may incorporate a pronominal object in its various conjugational forms which is not possible in case of intransitive verbs.

Another peculiarity of the languages of this group is this that there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitives or vice-versa. As such a verb stem is either transitive or intransitive (though in a few instances, mostly borro-

wed from I. A. stock the mechanism of transitivization may be attested) e.g. /šica/ 'to die' : /purca/ 'to kill'

/dadde/ 'to fall', /thaca/ 'to fell'

/dagca/ 'to be broken',: /thagca/ 'to break'

/naŋsa/ 'to be pressed': /naŋca/ 'to press'

### 8.1. Transitivization

As pointed out above there is no inbuilt mechanism of transitivization in this language. Besides the use of distinct roots, the only mechanism to affect this aspect of verbal construction is the employment of the verb root *daca* 'to give' with the transitive stem of the verb concerned, as in /zodde/ 'to sit' > /zodde daca/ 'to make to sit'. /šredde/ 'to laugh' > /šredde daca/ 'to make to laugh'. In this context it may also be pointed out that this device is identical with the device employed for causative formations.

### 8.2. Compound Constructions

As stated above in this language most of verbal stems are basic or primary. As such there is hardly any scope for secondary or derived stems, except for a few causative stems. However, there are a few cases of compound constructions, in which a noun/adjective or another verb root may form a constituent part of a compound verbal construction, as in /θlathirca/ 'to sing, = /lθla/ 'song' + /thirca/ 'to send, /kušisligca/ 'to try, = /kušis/ 'effort' + /ligca/ 'to do; /mintaca/ 'to abuse = /min/ 'name, + /taca/ 'to call; /θudaca/ 'to kiss = /θu/ 'a kiss + /daca/ 'to give; /dudpa taca/ 'to lie, /thestur ligca/ 'to scatter,; /pus tugca/ 'to kneel'. (*pus* 'knee'); /phuloca/ 'to blow = /phu/ 'a puff of air + /loca/ 'to say. /-jodci ni/ 'is sitting, etc.

### 8.3. Conjugational System

In Gahri a verb is inflected for the grammatical categories of person, number, tense, mood and aspect. Moreover, it, besides the usual affirmative sub-system, has negative sub-system as well, though with a limited application which will be discussed in the relevant sections.

Basically, from the point of temporal dimensions, Gahri shows a two way distinction, *viz.* past and non-past. For in colloquial speech many a time no distinction is made in the employment of verbal forms for the present and future actions, just as in English expressions—'I will go home tomorrow/ I am going home tomorrow.

From the point of aspect, too, a clear distinction is attested between perfect and non-perfect only. There being no distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects. Although, if desired, forms for the progressive aspects also can be obtained, yet in a colloquial speech both are expressed with their non-progressive forms in all the tenses, *e.g.* /zare/ means 'eats/ is eating' though forms like /zani/ 'is eating' are also obtainable. Similarly, /zodmen/ 'lives/has lived', /raza/ 'came/ had come' etc.

#### 8.4. Mechanism of Tense Formation

In a verbal conjugation, various categories are obtained by means of temporal suffixes, which sometimes incorporate number and person suffixes as well. As such the usual order of various constituents of a finite verb form is—root+tense marker+person and number suffixes. In case of pronominal objects of 1st or 2nd person the representative elements of it may also be infixed in between the root and the tense marker (see below).

In principle, though a verbal stem is inflectable for nine finite forms (3 person  $\times$  3 numbers), but structurally, a formal distinction is available for 4 forms only (2 for 1st and 2nd persons+2 for 1st person). However, in case of verb substantives the number of forms is reduced to 1-2 only, *e.g.* /yen/~/hen/ for all numbers and persons in the present tense, /ninza/ for all persons in past sg. /goičha/ (past 1st pl.) and /gwančha/ (past 2nd, 3rd pl.), /hengeni/ for all persons in future sg. and /henkheg (fut 1st pl.), /henkhyag/ (fut. 2nd, 3rd pl.).

8.4.1. *Person-number suffixes:* Synchronically, in it a verbal root is inflected for two numbers only *viz.* singular and plural.

In pronominal subjects which are inflected for three numbers the plural forms are also used for the dual.

Different persons are, however, distinguished to some extent by means of pronominal suffixes, which are amalgamated with number suffixes.

8.4.2. *Object infixation*: Like Kinnauri, in Gahri transitive verbs, besides the personal suffixes standing for the subject of the verb, also allow incorporation of suffixes which stand for pronominal objects, and are infixed in between the stem and the number-person suffixes.

Synchronically, Gahri seems to have lost this feature for many forms. Now, it is attested with regard to the 1st person only. There it is attested as /-kyu~ku/, a reduced form of /gyi/ 'I', as in /girog khyed-kyu-za/ 'I was beaten, /khyed-kya-ta/ he will beat (me), /lig-ku-ni/ 'make for me.

In past tense forms it is, however, attested as—/u-/, e.g. /tālzi~hānzi~tāldog~hindog daza /'he/thou gave to him/ to you, but /tālzi girog dauza/ he gave to me, /dauča/ gave to us, otherwise /gizi damen/ 'I have given'.

Another peculiar feature of object differentiation in Gahri is the employment of different verbal bases with regard to different pronominal objects, i.e. the verb stem takes /-ca-/ in case it refers to a 2nd or 3rd person object and /-sa-/ when it refers to the 1st person object, e.g. /tālzi~hānzi~gizi tāldog~hāndog dacare/ 'he /thou/ I give to him/you', but /tālzi~hānzi (girog) dasare/ 'he/you give (to me)', /tālchi hīnzog dasag/ they give to us. Similarly, /gizi tāldog khece/ 'I beat him, but /tālzi girog khasare/ he beats me'.

8.4.3. *Subject Incorporation*: Verbal forms also incorporate the pronominal subject in their tense forms in their reduced forms or symbolic forms. The first person /gyi/ is attested as /-g-/ in its suffixal representation and as /-ki-/ in its infixal representation, as in /khyed-ce-g/ 'I strike (=strike-you-I), /lig-ki-za/ 'I did (=do-I-past). Besides, we have an /-n-/ representing various pronominal subjects, e.g. /-ni-n-za/ 'I, thou/ he was', /hen(yen)-na/ thou art.

The subject of the third person is not usually indicated by means of any suffix. Sometimes, however, a suffixal /-re/ is

attested, as in /təlzi~hənzi girog kancare/ 'he/ thou sees to me', /hənzi təldog kancare/ you see him, but /gizi təldog kance?g/ I see him, /gizi/ həndog kance?g/ I see you.

8.4.4. *Correlation between a verb and its object:* There are certain transitive verbs the use of which is correlated with particular pronominal objects. e.g. We have two verbal roots for the meaning 'to say' viz *loca* and *ringde*. The former is used when the object is 2nd and 3rd person, as in /təlzi~hənzi (təldog/hindog) lodza/ 'he/you said (to him/you)' or /gizi~təlzi lodmen/ I said (to him/you), but—/təlzi~hənzi girog rinza/ 'he/you said to me': This difference is maintained in all the tenses, as in present tense /locare/~ /ringare/ 'says/ say', fut. /lod kya-ta/~ /ringani/ will say.

### 8.5. Voice

A peculiar feature of stem formation in Gahri is the use of infixes to denote whether the fruit of the action goes to the doer of the action or to someone else. It is similar to the OIA concept of middle (*ātmanepada*) and active (*parasmaipada*) voices in the verbal conjugation. The verb takes the infix /-ša-/ in the former case and /-ca-/ in the latter case. Incidentally these infixes are identical with the object infixes discussed above.

/təl inzi phos cakšare/ he washes his own clothes

/təl cicizi phos cakcare/ he washes the child's clothes.

/təlzi cicirog inzi yatoi phos cakca dacare/ he gets the child washed his friend's clothes.

/cemed inzi zamin likšare/ the girl is cooking her food.

/cemed inzi achoi zamin likcare/ the girl is cooking her elder brother's food.

/təlzi cemedtog inzi bonṭheg zamin liksa dacare/ he is getting food cooked through the girl for her.

/təlzi cemedtog inzi yato-i bonṭheg zamin likcadacare/ he is getting food prepared through the girl for his friend.



/coša/ to burn; /coca to kindle; /naňša/ to be pressed; /nañca/ to press; /senša/ to rise; /senca/ to raise; /cogca/ to wash (2nd, 3rd) clothes; /cagša/ to wash (1st); /kica/ to clean utensil etc. /kiša/ to clean oneself; /lanca/ to sell things; /lanza/ to sell oneself, /ligca/ to do for others. /ligša/ to do for oneself.

### 8.6. Verb Substantive

Gahri has as many as four roots which serve the purpose of the verb substantive, some of them occurring in complementary distribution. They are /yen-/~/hen/, /ni-/ , /go-/ and /kya-/. The use of /hende/ 'to be' denoting a general statement of existence, is confined to the present tense forms only. Bases  $\sqrt{ni}$ —and  $\sqrt{go}$ —'to exist' are used in the present and the past tenses for verbal forms of the singular and plural number respectively, the forms of  $\sqrt{kya}$ —<*kyare* 'to become' are used for future tense only. e.g. /gi mi hen/ I am a man', /hiñ mi hen/ we are men', but /gi khya na/ I am here, /hiñ khya goig/ we are here', /gi ninza/ I was, /hiñ goičha/ we were, /gi kyani/ I shall be; /hiñ kyakheg/ we shall be.

All these, except /yen-/~/hen/, have a dual character, occurring as independent verb forms or as auxiliaries. In the latter form these follow the principal verb and are followed by number-person and tense markers.

Besides, Gahri has another verb root. /ta-/ which is equivalent to English 'has/have'. It is inflected for both the numbers in the present and past tenses, e.g. /gizi d̥dwa ta/ I have money, /hiñči d̥dwa taig/ we have money, /gi-i acho ti ta/ I have a brother, /gi-i sumi šring ta/ I have three sisters.

Various forms of the verb substantives obtained for various tenses and persons may be presented in the following tables:

#### (1) /hende/ 'to be': *Present tense*

	Singular	Dual	plural
1st Person	(gi) hen	hen	(hiñ) hen
2nd Person	(h̥ɖn) hen	hen	(h̥ɖnzi) hen
3rd Person	(t̥ɖl) hen	hen	(t̥ɖlzi) hen

(2) /nide/ 'to exist, to be' and /gode/ to exist.

(a) *Present tense*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	(gi) na	goig	(hiñ) goig
2nd Person	(həñ) ni	gwag	(həñzi) gwag
3rd Person	(təl) ni	gwag	(təlzi) gwag

(b) *Past tense*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	ninza	goičha	goičha
2nd Person	„	gwančha	gwančha
3rd person	„	„	„

(3) /kyare/ 'to become' or /henge/ to become'

*Future tense*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st Person	kyani/hengeni	kyakheg	kyakheg/ heñkheg
2nd Person	„ „	Khag	kyakhag/ heñkhyag
3rd Person	„ „	„	kyakhag heñkhyag

In this case forms of *kyare* indicate definiteness and of *henge* indefiniteness, as in /gi hengeni/ I may have been.

Various forms of the verb root /ta-/ 'to have' are obtained as under:

(1) *Present tense*

Person	Sg.	Du./ pl.
1st Person	giza ta	hiñchi taig
2nd Person	həñzi ta na/ta	həñchi tad/ tadni
3rd Person	təlzi ta	təlchi „ „

(2) *Past tense*

Person	Sg.		Du./ pl.	
1st Person	gizi	taiza	hə̃n̄chi	taig
2nd Person	hə̃n̄zi	tan̄cha	hə̃n̄chi	tan̄cha
3rd Person	təlzi	„	təl̄chi	„

It has no future forms.

8.7. *Temporal Conjugation*

8.7.1. *Present tense*: In a colloquial speech there is no adherence to grammatical structure of tense forms, for, present and future, progressive and nonprogressive, perfect and non-perfect are freely used for one another. Consequently, in the present tense no distinction is made between indefinite and continuous aspects or past and present perfect or present and future. A present indefinite form is indiscriminately used for present continuous or habitual forms as well, e.g. *zare* means 'eat /is eating/ is in the habit of eating'.

(i) *Present Indefinite*: The inflectional base of the present indefinite is the bare root itself and different forms for respective numbers and persons are obtained by suffixing respective suffixes to it. The formative suffixes added to the root are as under:

Person	Singular						Plural			
3rd Person	-ca/	-ša/	-ža/	-ga/	φ	+re	/čha/	ša/	-kha	+g
2nd Person	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
1st Person	-ce/	-že/	-ge/	+g			/čhe/	že/	khe	+g

Thus structurally, a distinction is made between 1st and non-first persons only. In non-first forms the distinction of person is indicated by its subject.

Structural analysis of the various constituent elements of these forms is a little bit complex. There are exceptions to any generalized rule. Still tentatively it may be explained

as under: Sequentially, they are root+stem formative suffix+number-person suffix. The distribution of stem formative suffixes /ca/ -ša/ -za-/ -ga-/ -a/ -ϕ-/ in the singular number and g- /ca-/ -ša/ -za-/ and /kha-/ in the plural number is generally as follows:

- (i) /-ca-/ It is attested mostly with plosive ending roots and also with vowel ending roots, as in /ligcare/ he works, /kancare/ sees, /locare/ says, /dacare/ gives.
- (ii) /-ša-/ The stem formative /-ša-/ occurs with transitive roots having 1st person as their direct object, as in /dašare/ he gives to me, /logšeg/ I wash my clothes.
- (iii) /-za-/ The formative suffix /-za-/ is attested after a root ending in a nasal, as in /panzare/ it flies, but there are many exceptions to it.
- (iv) /-ga-/ It is attested with roots ending in -r- or -ñ- with exceptions, as /kyor-ga-re/ he dances, /ringa-re/ he says to me.
- (v) /-a-/ It is attested with verb root ending in -o-, as in /tyo-a-re/ he weeps.
- (vi) /-ϕ-/ The zero allomorph is, usually, attested with verb roots ending in -a- (with infinitive -re) /ra-re/ he comes, /ya-re/ he goes, /za-re/ he eats.

The distribution of stem formative suffixes in plural is as follows:

/-cha, -ša, -za/: These correspond to /cā-, /ša/, /za/ of the singular forms, as in /dacha?g/ they give to him/ them, /dašag/ they give to me/us. /panzag/ they fly, /lochag/ they say. /kha-/: It occurs with all other stems as in /kyorkhag/ they dance, /tyokhag/ they weep, /zakhag/ they eat, /gwañkhag/ they come, /yekhag/ they go.

The person-number markers in the singular number are (i) /-re/ in the 2nd and 3rd persons, and (ii) /-g/ in the 1st person. The change of the stem formative /-a-/ to /-e/ with /-g/ is euphamistic one. In plural forms it is uniformly /-g/.

In singular the forms like /tyoare/ he weeps, from /tyore/ to weep, /eyare/ he goes from /elde/ to go, /ringare/ he says from /ring-de/ to say, etc. indicate that the singular number person suffix can be postulated as /are-/ instead of /-re/. The present indefinite forms stand for habitual present as well, as in /təl ned kyun-re len ligca-re/ he is in the habit of doing work even when he is sick.

(ii) *Present Continuous*: Normally, the speakers of Gahri do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, yet, if absolutely desirable, it can be expressed periphrastically with the help of the auxiliary verb /ninza/ 'to remain', in which the principal verb is placed in a participial form, e.g. /za-ni/ (he) is eating/ (thou) art eating, /za-nia/ I am eating, /təl lika-ni/ he is doing, /gi liki-ñia/ I am doing, /roag-ka-re/ (he) is grazing.

(iii) *Present Perfect*: Usually, past tense forms are employed to convey the sense of present perfect, as in /gizi-zad/ 'I ate/ I have eaten'. However, it is also expressed as /gizi-zaiza/ I have finished eating, /təl boti ricum bonthe elza/ he has gone to fetch water.

Besides, there is also a perfective suffix, viz. /-men/, which is added to the verb root. It is an invariable particle and is not inflected for any number or person, e.g. /inizi girog kha rid-men/ what have you brought for me?, /həndog phos rid-men/ I have brought clothes for you, /gizi surog lod-men/ to whom have I said?, /did I say?, /hinci hiñrañgi len lig-men/ we have done our work, /hənzi the kha lig-men/ what have you done this?

(iv) *Universal Present*: The suffix /-men/ also expresses the sense of habitual or universal present, as in /buṭag-či ləb ded-men/ leaves fall from the tree, /rwañgci grogpo wangsmen/ river flows from the mountain.

/ña sotiñ zod-men/ fish lives in the water.

/ñugci buṭag zodmen/ monkeys live on trees.

But a habitual action is expressed with /zod/, a past participle, + /kyare/ both of which follow the present participle

form of the main verb, as in /təl duigyun lok zod-kyare/ he always reads, /zaa zod-kyare/ (he) is in the habit of eating (every now and then), /tyoa zod-kyare/ goes on weeping. Besides, the habitual action can also be expressed by reduplicating the verbal forms, as in /hiñ ca?na khya goig goig/ we used to come here daily.

8.7.2. *Periphrastic Constructions*: Besides the simple tense formations, Gahri also resorts to periphrastic constructions to express the progressive aspects of the verbs. The normally employed auxiliary in this case is the verb /ninza/ to be, to remain. The present and past tense forms of it are:

Present	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	ni	goig/gwag
2nd person	„	„ „
1st person	ñia	goig/ gweg
Past tense	Sg.	pl.
3rd person	ninza	gwančha
2nd person	„	„
1st person	„	goičha

e.g. (i) /za ñia/ I am eating;

(ii) /za ninza/ I was eating.

8.7.3. *Suppletivism*: Besides the employment of different stems for different tense forms of the verb substantive, there are certain finite verbs in which the phenomenon of suppletivism is attested for different numbers of it. An important verb belonging to this class is /rare/ to come, in which the root /ra-/ is replaced by /go-/ or /gwan-/ for plural number forms for all the tenses and moods, as in /rare/ he goes, /gwan-khag/ they go, /rad/ he went: /gwad/ they went: /ra/~/go/ (sg.): /gwan/go/ (pl.) (Imp.). The auxiliary verb /ninza/ to sit, is also replaced by /go-, as in the above case.

8.7.4. *Past tense*: As compared to the present tense forms the construction of past tense forms is simpler. The most

common suffixes of the ordinary past are /-za/ (sg) and /-čha/ (pl.) which are appended to the verb root, e.g. /bucazi peca ti logza/. The boy read a book, /bucachi peca logčha/ boys read books. Similarly, /zaza/ he ate: /začha/ they ate, /daza/ he gave: /dačha/ they gave, /ligza/ he did: /ligčha/ they did.

However, in some cases the singular /-za/ has two more allomorphs, distribution of which is not very clear. The allomorph /-ca/ is attested with forms like /zukca/ started, /gorca/ has become late, and /-ša/ in forms like /dubša/ has become, /ma dubša/ has not become, etc.

Moreover, in the 1st person of this tense the formative suffix is /-d/ with most of the verbs and /men/ with others.

/(gizi/hinchi) zad/ (I/we) ate.

/(gi/hiñ) kyorad/ (I/we) danced

/(gi/hiñ) rad/ (I/we) came

/(gi/hiñ) eled/ (I/we) went.

but /gizi damen/ I gave, /gizi ligmen/ I did

(For complete table see model conjugations).

(i) *Past Continuous*: The position of past continuous is similar to that of the present continuous. Normally, the past itself serves the purpose of the past continuous, but if specification is desirable, then it can be expressed periphrastically with the past tense forms of the aux. √ni-viz. /ninza/ (sg.):

/gwančha/ (pl.), as in /kyorga niza/ he was dancing

/kyorkha gwančha/ they were dancing, /lika ninza/ he was doing, /lika gwančha/ they were doing.

A periphrastic past continuous is formed by adding respective past tense forms to the present participle form of the main verb: /zamin lika ligza/ continued preparing meals, /sedkya zodca/ continued laughing, /zinska zodcha/ continued quarrelling.

(ii) *Past Perfect*: The past perfect is formed by appending /-ta/ (sg) and /-tad/ (pl.) to the verb root, as in /lig-ta-na/ thou hast done, /lig-tad-ni/ you had done.

Besides, past tense forms also distinguish between recent (*adyatana*) and distant (*anadyatana*) past. The tense marker suffix in the former case is /za/ as exemplified above, and in the latter case is /ta/ as in /loqta/ he read.

8.7.5. *Future tense*: In a colloquial speech present tense forms, except the 2nd and the 3rd person singular, are used for the future tense as well. In this case the 2nd, 3rd number-person formative suffix /-re/ is replaced by a suffix /-ni/, e.g. /zare/ he eats /thou eatest, but /zani/ he will eat/ thou wilt eat, all other forms remain identical (for examples see model conjugations).

But future is also formed with the help of suffixes, /-ta, ~ tad~thad/ and /-theg/ appended to the root or participle form of the verb, e.g. /təlzi~hənzi~gizi data/ 'he/thou/ I will give', /təlchi~hənchi datad/ 'they/you will give' and /hinchi datheg/ we shall give. Similarly, /lika-ta/ (he /thou, I) will do. /lika-tad~thad/ (they, you) will do.

/hinchi lika teig~theg/ we shall do

/gi thən ingi kyumaman elteg/

I shall go my home today.

In periphrastic constructions forms with /kyata/ (sg.), /kyatad/ (2nd, 3rd pl.) and /kyatheg/ (1st pl.) are used.

## 8.8. Passive Sub-System

Like other languages of this group Gahri does not favour passive constructions. In transitive verbs the inherent use of the subject in the ergative case is enough to convey the passive sense, forms like /təlzi dacare/ are enough to convey the sense of 'he gives' and 'given by him'. In it all the utterances with passive constructions are rendered with active constructions, e.g. 'sitting is not done by me' will be rendered as 'I cannot sit': /gi zode ma thubsere/, or 'walking will not be possible by me' is rendered as 'I cannot walk' /gi amca ma thubka/.

A passive sense is also conveyed with the use of the aux. /ninza/ to remain, as in /zodci ni/ is seated, /zodci goag~gwag/ are seated, /zodci ninza/ was seated.



## 8.9. Causativization

It has no mechanism of deriving secondary verbal roots from the primary roots. Rather there are distinct primary roots for all transitive or causative stems:

coša to burn	:	coca to kindle
dagša to be broken	:	dogca to break
henca to listen	:	saca to narrate
naňša to be pressed	:	naňca to press
šica to die	:	purca to kill
senša to rise	:	senca to lift, to raise
dadde to fall	:	thaca to fell.

However, in case of necessity, a causative or transitive form can be obtained by appending respective forms of the verb/daca/ to give, to the verbal noun forms of the main verb.

zare 'to eat': zamin daca 'to feed, to give food'

tuňde 'to drink': soti daca 'to give water'

tyore 'to weep': tyore daca 'to make to weep'

ligca 'to do': ligca daca 'to make to do'.

as in /thəzu buča-rog len ligca decare/ he gives work to the child to do=he makes the child to work, /ama cicizog mama decare/ mother gives milk (of breast) to the children—mother makes the children drink milk (of breast).

## 8.10. Negative Sub-system

The negative sub-system is operative in future tense forms only. In other tenses there is no structural difference in verb forms, except the verb substantive. The negation of an action is affected by three particles, viz. *ma*, *tha*, and *eka*.

The presence of a negative particle brings about a notable structural change in the verb forms in the future tense. This

feature of the verbal conjugation in Gahri may be illustrated as follows:

/gi elteg/ I will go : /gimaya/ I will not go.

/gi zateg/ I shall eat : /gi maza/ I will not eat.

/gi data/ I will give : /gi ma daca/ I will not give; but no structural change is attested in the present and past tense forms, as in /gi zageg/ I eat : /gi ma zageg/ I do not eat.

/gi elad/ I went : /gi ma elad/ I did not go.

/təlzi daza/ 'he gave' : /təlzi ma daza/ he did not give.

### 8.11. Interrogative Constructions

In verbal conjugation interrogation occurs in two ways, (1) with interrogative words, (2) with interrogative particle. In the former case there is no structural difference from the affirmative forms, e.g.

/inzi girog khə ridmen/ what have you brought for me?

~  
/həi buča gui ni/ where is your son?

~  
/həi nuñ icig qəwa tana/ how many rupees have you?

But interrogative expressions, which take auxiliaries like, can, may, have etc. in English, take the interrogative particle, /la/ which is appended to the participial base of the verb, i.e. root + i/ gi, as in /zai la:/ should I eat?, /eila:/ should I go?, /brii la:/ should I write, /kangi la:/ should I see, /kyorgi la:/ should I dance? /liki la:/ should I do?

## 9. MOODS AND MODAL VERBS

Besides the full fledged conjugation, there are certain verbs which are conjugated partially for a particular mood and point of time only. These are employed to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as ability, desire, permission, compulsion, willingness, possibility, command, polite command, determination, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, etc. some of these showing inflection for a few grammatical and temporal categories only can be illustrated as follows:

### 9.1. Imperative Mood

The usual suffixes of the imperative mood are: /-a/ (sg.) and /-ni/ (pl.) suffixed to the verb root. The /-a/ is retained distinctly in stems ending in other than the identical vowel, but it is merged with the root vowel if ending in /-a/, e.g. /za:/ (= za + a), eat (sg.): /zani/ eat (pl.), /da:/ (sg.): /dani/ (pl.) give, /ra/ come (sg.); /gwani/ come (pl.), but /kyora/ (sg.): /kyorni/ (pl.) dance, /tyoa/ (sg.): /tyoni/ (pl.) weep, /lia/ (sg.) \*liga: /ligni/ (pl.) do, /ela/ go, /grela/ run etc.

But in some cases the imperative suffix is attested as /-ra/, as in /zo-ra/ sit, /khye-ra/ beat, /pho-ra/ put on, /lo-ra/ tell (him).

In certain cases even infixation or suffixation of prominal objects also takes place in this mood, e.g. /lig-ku/ make for me, /lig-ku-ni/ make for us (pl.) /da-u/ give to me.

### 9.2. Prohibitive Imperative

The prohibitive imperative is expressed with the particle /tha/ which is placed before the imperative form of the verb, as in /tha lwara/ don't forget, /tha lia/ don't make, /tha kyora/ don't dance, /tha tyoa/ don't weep.

In periphrastic constructions it is the auxiliary that carries the imperative suffix:

/the khyag zodde da/ let this remain here.

/the len lighthira do/ finish this work (emph.)

/lod thira/ tell. The aux. /thira/ is equal to Hindi *choro* (*karchoro*).

An imperative employing polite suggestion is expressed by reduplicating the imp. form, as in /doñ dure doñ/ come let us move ahead.

### 9.3. Subjunctive Mood

Subjunctive mood which in other words stands for 1st person imperative is identical with the interrogative explained above (8.11).

9.3.1. *Permissive*: The permissive sense is expressed either by simple verbal noun or by future tense forms, as in /təlzi kha khamstanaŋ likatad/ 'they may do whatever they like (desire).

9.3.2. *Conditional/contingent mood*: It is a non-flectional category. In it the verb form in the subordinate clause is placed in verbal noun form followed by conditional marker particle /naŋ/, and the principal clause in future tense.

/hən ranaŋ girog re elde guinsi kyani/

(if) you come, I will also have to come.

/hən ranaŋ, gi egeg/

(had) you come, I would have gone.

/təl raza naŋ epokemin ninza/

If he comes, so nice it would be.

9.3.3. *Compulsive*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by principal verb stem + *guinsi* (necessity) + respective tense forms of the verb /kyare/ 'to become'

/təldog ya khya rare guinsi kyaza/ kyeza/

he had to come here yesterday.

/hən ranaŋ, girog re elde guinsi kyani/

In case you come, I will also have to come.

/həndog zare guinsi kyani/ You will have to eat.

/girog nuŋ elde guinsi kyaza/ I will have to go there.

9.3.4. *Obligative*: The sense of obligation is expressed by appending respective forms of the aux. /hen/ 'to be' or /ta-/ to have, to verbal noun forms of the main verbs.

/təl inzi awa daŋ elmen hen/ he has to go with his father.

/gizi pheceg pad bricum to/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

/təldog khya ramen hen/ he has to come here.

9.3.5. *Ability*: The ability of a doer, irrespect of an action is expressed with the verb /thubca/ 'can', added to the verbal

noun form of the main verb: /gi gogspa rare ma ʈhubsa/ I cannot come so quickly, /təl khyag rare ʈhubcimen/ he cannot come here, /gi zodde ma ʈhubserə/ I cannot sit, /gi thazun elde maʈhubka/ I cannot go there.

9.3.6. *Possibility/Probability*: Possibility or probability of an action is expressed with the auxiliaries, *zodde+kyare* to become, which follows the past participle form of the main verb: /təl zaminza: zod kyani/ he might have taken food. /təlzi len ligca khumsi zodkyani/ he might have finished (Hindi-*khatam kar baiṭha hoga*) his work, /hənzi losi zodkyani/ you may have told.

9.3.7. *Necessity/Advisability*: The sense of necessity or desirability is expressed with /guṇsi/ necessity+verb substantive:

/logcum bonthe peca guṇsi henzi/

a book is needed for reading.

/həndog thəraṇ elde guṇsi henzi/

she should go there (there is a necessity of her going there).

/təldog khya rare guṇsi henzi/

he should come here (There is necessity of his coming here)

9.3.8. *Simultaneity*: The simultaneity of an action is expressed by /staṇ ṇampo/ which follows the verb concerned in the verbal noun form: /təl gi thaṇci staṇ ṇampo tyoza~tyore zuxsa/ She started weeping as soon as she saw us.

/kwarci lagtogci sortistaṇ ṇampo. . .

the pitcher, as soon as it fell from the hand. . .

/za-staṇ ṇampo/</zare/ to eat, /rastaṇ ṇampo/</rare/ to come,

/ibcistaṇ ṇampo/</ibca/ to sleep, /tuṇstaṇ ṇampo/</tuṇde/ to drink, /thaṇcistaṇ ṇampo/</thaṇca/ to see.

## 10. MODEL CONJUGATIONS

*ligca* to do (transitive)

3rd person	ligcare	ligcaʔg
2nd person	"	"
1st person	ligceg	ligceg

*Present continuous*

3rd person	lika-ni	lika goag/- gwag
2nd person	„	„ „
1st person	likañia	lika goeg/- gweg.

*Present perfect/past*

3rd person	ligza	ligcha
2nd person	„	„
1st person	ligmen/ lika-za	lika-cha

*Past continuous*

3rd person	lika ninza	lika gwančha
2nd person	„ „	„ „
1st person	„ „	„ goičha

*Future*

3rd person	lika ta	lika tad
2nd person	„ „	„ „
1st person	„ „	„ teig

*Imperative*

2nd person	lia (lya)	ligni
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*Subjunctive*

1st person	liki la: ?	liki la: ?
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*Kyor-de to dance (Intransitive)*

	Sg.	pl.
3rd person	kyorgare	kyorkhag
2nd person	„	„
1st person	kyorgeg	kyorkheg

*Present continuous (as above)**Past*

3rd person	kyorza	kyorčha
2nd person	„	„
1st person	kyorad	kyorad

*Past continuous*

3rd person	kyorganinza	kyorkhagwančha
2nd person	„ „	„ „
1st person	„ „	„ goičha

*Future*

3rd person	kyorgani	kyorkhag
2nd person	„	„
1st person	kyorgeg	kyorkheg

*Imperative*

2nd person	kyora	kyorni
<i>Prohibitive</i>	tha kyora	tha kyorni

*Subjunctive*

1st person	kyorgila:?	kyorkhila: ?
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## 11. VERBAL DERIVATIVES

In Gahri various non-finite verb forms are formed in the following manner:

## 11.1. Infinitive

Various suffixes are added to verb roots to form their infinitives. Their environmental distribution is not very clear in many cases. These may be illustrated as under:

/-ca/: As in /lwanca/ to forget, /kanca/ to show, /tonca/ to lift, /loca/ to say, /kwarca/ to dig, /leca/ to teach.

/-šā/: /thribša/ to sneeze, /loqša/ to ascend, /thibša/ to fight, /nañša/ to be pressed.

/-ža/: /lonža/ to vomit, /miža/ to think, /lanža/ sell oneself.

/-de/: /zodde/ to sit, to stop, /sidde/ to ride, /tuñde/ to drink, /sr̥d̥de/ to laugh, /dadde/ to fall, /elde/ to go.

/-te/: /rekste/ to tremble.

/-re/ /kyare/ to become, /tyore/ to weep, /zare/ to eat,  
 /rare/ to come, /kure/ to steal.  
 /-pa/ /todpa/ to praise.

It is followed by the postposition /bonthe/ 'for', when special purpose of the action in question is intended, as in

/zamen bonthe/ for eating, /kancum bonthe/ for seeing,  
 /tubcum bonthe/ to cut, /sensum bonthe/ to lift,  
 /ligcum bonthe/ for doing.

But when it is a generalized statement and involves no special purpose, then the sense of the verbal noun is expressed by the infinitive form itself, as in /zare elza/ he went for eating, /occi khyā rare tha lwara/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

### 11.2. Verbal Noun

A verbal noun or gerund which, usually, has the force of a logical object of a verb or has a semantic correlation with an accusative-dative case, is formed by adding /-men/ or /cum/ to the verb root. Stems having infinitive marker /-ca/ take /cum/, with ša/ take/-sum/, and others take /-men/: /zamen khōms-ta/ (he) wants to eat, /tun-men khōms-ta/ wants to drink, /kyormen khōms-ta/ wants to play.

### 11.3. Present Participle

The present participle is formed by suffixing /-a/, /-ka/, /-kya/, /-gya/, /-sa/, /-za/ to the verb root. The tentative distribution of these suffixes is as under:

/-a/: It is usually affixed to verbs ending in a vowel, as in /za-a/ while eating, /da-a/ giving, /tyo-a/ weeping, /bri-a/= [briya] writing, /kiya/ to clean.

In stems ending in /-a/ it is realized with extra long quantity of *a* as well as in /za:/ while eating.

/-ka/: It may be a devoiced /-g+a/, as it is attested with verb roots ending in /-g/, as in /lika/ doing</ligca/ to do, /ruka/ chewing</rugca/ to chew, /thaka/ breaking,



/ga/: This suffix is attested with roots ending in /-r/ or a nasal /kyorga/ dancing, playing, /phurga/ shaking, /tuŋga/ drinking, /laŋga/ selling.

/-kya/: It occurs with roots ending in /-d/: /lod-kya/ saying, /bud-kya/ placing, /zod-kya/ sitting, /brud-kya/ wiping, /yud-kya/ grinding.

/-gya/: Its occurrence is attested with roots ending in a dental nasal: /kan-gya/ seeing, /ton-gya/ lifting, /tron-gya/ hanging.

/-ša/: It occurs with verbal stems having reflexive sense or having 1st person as its object: /kišā/ cleansing ones own things, /ligša/ doing, /laŋša/ selling to oneself, /cagša/ washing oneself.

/-za/- It is attested with the verb stem having /-za/ as its infinitive marker, as in /pan-za/ flying from /panza/ to fly.

#### 11.4. Past Participle

Past or perfect participle is formed by suffixing /-ši/ to the verb root, further strengthened by the particle /-čug/: e.g. /thanši-čug/ seen, /loši~lodši čug/ said, /cagši čug/ washed, /brisi-čug/ written, /tronši=čug/ hanged, /thagši-čug/ broken, /bruši-čug/ wiped, /laŋši-čug/ sold, /ligši-čug/ done, /daši čug/ given. But there are a few vowel ending roots in which only /-i/ is suffixed to it, as in /zai čug/ eaten, /tyoi čug/ wept, /tuicug/ 'drunk'. Some roots add /-ci~li/ etc. as well: /šici-čug/ dead, /tuši-čug/ burnt, /drali-cug/ torn, /dak-či-cug/ broken.

#### 11.5. Conjunct Participle

The formative suffix of this participle is /-ži/ which is affixed to the verb root, as in /kanži/ having seen, /lodži/ having said, /bud-ži/ having placed, /cagži/ having washed, /brizi/ having written. /tuŋži/ having drunk. /lig-ži/ having done, /zaži/ having eaten, /da-ži/ having given, /khyā raži, zora/ having come here, sit down, /len ligži zamen zad/ having done the work, food etc.

The suffixal /-ʒi/ is substituted by /-ʒi/~/či/ if the reflection of the action is on the doer itself, as in /cagčī/ having washed one's ownself or one's own things, /ligšī/ having done one's own work, /daši/ having given to oneself.

### 11.6. Adverbial Participle

It is obtained by reduplicating the participle form if the sense of continuity of action is to be emphasised or particularised, e.g.

/len lika lika gorci elza/ It become late while doing work.

/pyaci panza panza wai elza/ the bird went far away while flying.

/gi eya eya chedca/ I am tired of walking.

/təl thaŋga thaŋga yodca/ he disappeared while we were seeing.

/təl zaza ibca/ he went to sleep while eating.

/təl dorog zaza boi kyazi elza/ on eating free of charge he has become fat.

## 12. ADVERBS

As in other languages of this group in Gahri, too, the adverbs or verbal modifiers belong to invariable class of words. However, these can be treated as a distinct class of words because of their syntactic position and semantic function. Semantically, these denote the place, time, manner or direction of the occurrence of an act in question. As such these may be grouped as (i) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (ii) Temporal or adverb of time, (iii) Modal or adverb of manner, (iv) Quantitative or adverb of quantity or degree.

### 12.1. Formation of Adverbs

Most of the adverbs are simple and non-derived, but there are certain adverbs which are formed by adding certain post-positional markers or by reduplicating the stem. The most commonly used additive elements are:

- (i) /-mañ/ (showing direction): /duci-mañ/ in front of:  
/the-mañ/ to this side, /nu-mañ/ to that side, /gu-mañ/  
to which side, /kyuma-mañ/ towards the home.
- (ii) /tog/dog/-rog/ (acc. marker): /thil-dog/ below, under,  
/gyəb-tog/ behind, /zug-tog/ at the end, /do-rog/ in the side.  
/nəñsmi-tog/ suddenly, /yar-tog/ up, above, /zuñdog ela/ go  
straight, /ikastag tya zodte/ for how long will you go on  
weeping?
- (iii) /-nag/ (manner): /henag/ like this, /ho-nag/ like that,  
/kha-nag/ how, in which manner, /na-nag/ in.
- (iv) /-rañ/ (direction): /the-rañ/ there.
- (v) /-či/ (abl. marker): /guiči/ where from, /thil-či/ from  
below.
- (vi) /-čuk/- (expressing quantity): /men-čuk/ that much,  
/then-čuk/ this much.
- (vii) Reduplication: /tuñ-tuñ/ before, /dalto-dalto/ slowly,  
/thik-thik/ properly, /chăi-chăi/ every where.

In it an adverb can be followed by an emphasis marker particle as well, as in /gi eka-re thazuñ maya/ I shall never go there.

Besides the above noted forms, the adverbs of various categories, commonly attested in Gahri are as under:

### 12.2. Adverbs of Place

/gui/ where, /wai/ -far, /khyag/ here, /nuñ/ there, /lejan/  
below, /durel/ ahead, /phere/ around.

### 12.3. Adverbs of Time

/thəñ/ today, /ya:/ yesterday, /acci/ tomorrow, /giwa/ day  
before yesterday, /da:/ now, /daksañ/ just now, /roz/ daily,  
/dui-gun/ ever, /eka-re/ never, /cagna/ always, /yugna/ at  
once, /təpši/ again, /khaci/ after, /ika/ when, /ica bazi/  
once, /yurna/ early.

#### 12.4. Adverbs of Manner

/grogspa/ quickly, /cuppe/ quietly, /khəlag/ why, /šuṭugna/ quietly, /keʔzi/ alone.

#### 12.5. Adverbs of Quantity

/noi/ much, very, /icig/ how much, /nu-cuk/ that much, /then-cuk/ this much.

#### 12.6. Placement of an Adverb

Syntactically, the position of an adverb in a string of components of a sentence is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before an adjective/ adverb, or just after the subject. This can be illustrated by following occurrences:

1. /həi buca gui ni/ where is your son?
2. /hən gui-či rad/ where you have come from?
3. /təl khyag zodkyare/ he lives here.
4. /telži ña: či len ligcaʔg/ they are working for long.
5. /giʒidaksai pheceg pad brimcum ta/  
I have to write a letter, just now, to my uncle.
6. /hiñ cagna khyag goi goi/ we used to come here daily.
7. /gi gyogspa rare ma ʃhubša/ I cannot come quickly.
8. /gi ekare thazuñ maya/ I shall never go there.
9. /gi nuñ chāi danzi zod/ I kept sitting for the whole night.
10. /təl koʔzi raninza/ he was coming alone.

### 13. PARTICLES

Particles in Gahri include a variety of indeclinable class of words. The most commonly used of them are-connectives, emphatics, negatives and interjections. The forms and functions of these may be illustrated as follows:

### 13.1. Connectives

There are only a few connectives used in Gahri. Mostly, their function is served by a mere pause or open juncture. The particles belonging to this class of words are additive, alternative, contrastive coordinative or differentiative. The uses of some of these may be illustrated as below:

(a) *Additive*: The additive particle in Gahri is /dðn/, but in coordinative sentences its function is served by a mere pause as well.

(i) /srangstog ci dðn soti da/ give grass and water to the horse.

(ii) /tðlzi dašare, gi tuŋge/ he gives, (and) I drink.

In subordinative or conditional sentences, too, the connective particle is dropped in favour of an open juncture:

(i) /tðlzi girog ringare gi krestog ña/ he said to me, I am hungry.

(ii) /sure ranañ, tðl yani/ whoever comes, he goes.

(iii) /len ligzi, zamen zad/ when worked (then) ate.

(iv) /hðn ranañ+giro re elde guĩsi khyani/ If you come (then) I would like to go.

(b) *Alternative*: Alternative particles are (i) /hena—hena/, as in /hena hðn rani hena . . . /either you will come or . . .

(ii) /na . . na/: na hðn raza na coco raza/ neither you came nor the younger brother came.

(c) *Contrastive*: It is also expressed by a simple pause, as in /gi-i len tð dðbša, hði len ma dðbša/ my work is over, (but) your work is not done.

### 13.2. Emphatic Particles

In an utterance, normally, it is the heavy accent on the particular word or longer quantity on the particular syllable that marks the intended emphasis. Sometimes shifting of words from their normal syntactic position also serves the

same purpose. But besides the above devices there are specific terms as well to mark emphasis on a particular word. The most commonly attested emphatic particle is *—re*.

- (i) /təlzi re khyag zodkhag/  
they, too, live at this very place
- (ii) /gi eka re thazuñ maya/ I shall never go there.
- (iii) /hənzɪ: losi zod kyeni/ you (alone) may have told.
- (iv) /təl dui gyun za: zoker kyañ zodkyare/  
he is always in the state of eating.
- (v) /gi ten ten rage?/ I shall certainly come.

### 13.3. Negative Particles

There are two negative particles, viz. *ma* and *tha*: the former is to negate occurrence of an action and the latter to prohibit an action in question.

- (1) /ram ma raza/ Ram did not come.  
/gi təldog loca ma daca/ I shall not allow him to speak.
- (2) /the tha le/ don't do it.  
/girog daruñ tha dau/ don't give any more to me.  
/acci tha ra/ don't come tomorrow.

### 13.4. Interrogative Particle

The most commonly used interrogative particle is *—la*, which is placed at the end of the utterance.

- (i) /təlzi data la/ will he give?
- (ii) /təlzi zaré la/ is he eating?
- (iii) /gizi zanañ dikəñ la/ may I eat?
- (iv) /gi ranañ dikəñ la/ may I come?

### 13.5. Interjections

The number of interjections is not much. Some of these are—*O*, expression of surprise, *ʃəbe* bravo! thank you, *ae*

*kuncok* O God, *zule* good morning. Interjections /ke/ and /e/ are used for calling attention or Vocative case as well, as in /ke lama/ eh! lama! /e yðto/ oh! friend! /e buca/ o boy!.

## 14. SYNTAX

Syntactically, Gahri belongs to the linguistic group of SOV pattern, as such the normal order of syntactic constituents is subject + object + verb or NP + VP.

### 14.1. Concord

A verb in languages of this group is not inflected for the gender, but in subjective constructions it always agrees with the number and person of the subject.

/gi ke?zi ña/ I am alone.

/hiñ acho bed noi goig/ we are many brothers.

/tðl khyag zodkyare/ he lives here.

/tðlzi khyag zodkhag/ they live here.

Interestingly, it does not show any concord with the object like I.A. languages, even in objectival constructions:

/gi-i şriñ-ti ta/ I have one sister.

/gi-i sumi şriñ-ta/ I have three sisters.

/buca-zi peca-ti logza/ boy read a book.

/buca-zi peca noi logza/ boy read many books.

/ram-zi mohðndog pyas-ti şuza/ Ram asked one thing from Mohan.

/mohðn-zi ram-dogçi pyas noiti şuza/ Mohan asked many things from Ram.

### 14.2. Sentence Type

Normally, a sentence in Gahri is a simple one, but complex ideas can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence by means of connectors or by a mere pause

junction. However, for a broader analysis all syntactic constructions can be classified as simple, complex and compound, but the number of complex sentences may be the least. Examples of various syntactic constructions may be illustrated as follows:

A simple sentence constituting an NP as its subject and a VP as its predicate may have any of the following types:

(a) *Copula sentence*: In this type of sentences the copulative sense is expressed by any of the variants of the verb substantive:

/the gi-i kyum hen/ this is my house.

~  
/h θ i buca gui ni/ where is your son?

/hiñ acho-bed nispi goig/ we are two brothers.

(b) *Transitive/Intransitive sentence*: At the syntactic level Gahri makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive sentences, i.e. the subject in a transitive sentence is placed in the ergative case, but it is placed in the nominative case if the verb is an intransitive one. Moreover, in transitive sentence the predicate part of it can have one or more (direct and indirect) objects but there is no object in an intransitive sentence. A notable feature of transitive constructions in Gahri is this, that in it, unlike Indo-Aryan languages, even in objectival constructions, the verb always agrees with the subject only (see concord above).

/thəzu cici-rog khecare/ he beats the child.

/amazi cici-zog pelci dacare/ mother gives milk to children.

/buca zi cemed-tog thañza/ the boy saw the girl.

/cemedchi buca thañcha/ girls saw boys.

/təlzi girog dašare/ he gives to me.

/gizi surog lodtad/ to whom did I say.

/hənzi girog riñgani/ you will tell me.



*Causative sentence:* Basically, there are no causative constructions in Gahri. The causative sense is affected with the verb  $\sqrt{daca}$  to give. A sentence like 'he makes the child to work' is rendered as 'he gives the work to the child to do' (/thəzu buca-roḡ len ligca dacare/) (also see 8.9).

#### 14.3. Interrogative Sentences

In the interrogative sentences with 'yes' or 'no' type of responses the interrogative particle, accompanying the sentence intonation, is appended to the verb form concerned, but in the other type in which the response takes the form of a sentence or a phrase the interrogative pronoun precedes the verb form.

/gizi liki la:/ may I do?

/gi kyorgi la:/ should I dance?

~  
/h ə i buca gui ni/ where is your son?

/tei min kha hen/ what is his name?

/thəzu lekskuḡ icig mi gwag/

how many people live in that village? (Also see 8.11).

#### 14.4. Imperative Sentences

The principal constituent of imperative sentences is the predicate itself, the subject, which invariably is the second person pronoun is almost left out.

/kha razit zora/ having come here sit down.

/girog elde dau/ (you) let me go.

/doḡ dure doḡ/ let us move ahead. (Also see 9.1).

#### 14.5. Negative Sentences

In negative sentences all sorts of negative particles, i.e. simple negative /mɔi/, prohibitive /-tha/ and emphatic /-re/ are placed immediately before the verb.

/gi zodde ma tɔubšere/ I cannot sit.

/khyā rare thā lwara/ don't forget to come here.  
 /gi t̪ɔldog loca ma dāca/ I shall not allow him to speak.  
 /gi ekare thazuñ maya/ I shall never go there.

#### 14.6. Complex Sentences

There can be various types of subordinative sentences in Gahri, but in most of the cases they are structured as independent sentences, without any connective particle.

#### 14.7. Conditional Sentences

In conditional sentences the subordinate clause expressing condition precedes the principal clause. Usually, a pause juncture serves the purpose of the conditional particle:

/h̃n ranañ girog re elde guñsi kyani/  
 (If) you come, I will also have to go.

#### 14.8. Complemental Sentences

In this type, the subordinate clause serving as a complement to the principal clause follows it: /t̪ɔlzi ringare† gi krestog na/ he said (to me), I am hungry.

#### 14.9. Relative Clause

In Gahri there are neither relative pronouns to serve as connectives in relative clause, nor does it prefer relative clause constructions. Utterances containing relative clause structures in other languages are rendered as simple sentences *e.g.* sentences like 'when work was finished, then meal was taken' are expressed as 'having finished the work, took the meals' as in /len ligzi zamen zad/; also /sure ranañ †t̪ɔl yoni/ who soever comes, he will go.

#### 4.10. Compound Sentence

Short compound sentences, usually consisting of two independent clauses, with or without a coordinative connective, are normal patterns of the syntactic structure in Gahri.

/t̪ɔlzi dašare †gi tuñge/ he gives (and), I drink.

/təl zamen lika ligza †hinchī zaligmen/

he went on preparing food (and) we went on eating.

/gui len tə dūbša †həi len maḍubša/

my work has completed (but) your work has not completed.

#### 14.11. Transformation

Transformation of simple affirmative sentences into negative, interrogative, etc. is normally done by using respective particles as usual, e.g. /gi ligceg/ 'I do'; /gi ma ligceg/ I do not do; /gizi lika' la may/ should I do? (for further examples see 8.10-11, 9.2.).

**TOD**

**(Stod)**

*Introduction*

*Sound System*

*Grammatical Structure*

## INTRODUCTION

### **Linguistic Area**

The word Tod has been derived from Tibetan *Stod* which means, high land or higher region. The dialect which has been designated as Tod for this survey is spoken in the Upper Valley of the river Bhaga, starting from Kwaring, the upper boundary of Gahri to Darcha the last village of the valley. The villages or hamlets falling under the area are Kwaring, Khwalamoor, Teeno, Kolong, Rhangrig, Kyele, Sarang, Khang-sar, May, Gyamur, Bhaug, Rooling-bar, Zispa, Limkyung, Sumdo, Baryu, Rang-yo, Hyocha, Chika-Raring, Tinggal and Darcha, mostly situated on the right bank of the river Bhaga.

### **Population and Speakers**

As usual no separate statistics for the number of speakers of this dialect could be obtained for this analysis.

### **Literature**

No literature, whatsoever, is available for this dialect, which is a variant of the Tibetan dialect spoken in Spiti and Janskar. Grierson, has not even made a mention of it in his survey.

### **Sources of Data**

In the absence of any earlier source the entire analysis of this dialect is based on the data collected by the author himself from the speakers of the language. The principal informants of this data are—Shri Sonam Rinchan from the village Rang-yo, near Darcha and Shri Lalchand from the village Teeno. The material was recorded between 1984-86 at Chandigarh.



## SOUND SYSTEM

The dialect spoken in the Tod valley of Lahul has the following sets of vowel and consonant phonemes obtainable on the basis of their minimal pairs.

### 1.1. Vowels

Phonemically the following vocalic sounds are attested singly or in sequences:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low			a

The phonemic contrasts of these vowel, may be illustrated as under:

i/e : /mi/ man; /me/ fire; /dice/ to ask for; /dece/ to scratch  
/chir/ waist band; /cher/ anxious.

i/a : /mi/ man; /ma/ wound; /ši/ louse; /ša/ flesh.

i/o : /zi/ four; /zo/ curd; /zi/ panther; /zo/ bull.

e/a : /pece/ to open; /peca/ book; /meme/ grand father;  
/mama/ breast of woman; /cece/ to bite; /cace/ to break.

e/u : /te/ rice; /tu/ child; /de/ a measuring pot; /du/ six.

e/o : /páphe/ flour; /papho/ kin.

ə/i : /iən/ medicine; /min/ name.

ə/a : /zən/ north; /zan/ wide; /əci/ sister; /aco/ brother.

a/u : /la/ to, in; /lu?/ ewe; /ša?ce/ to burn; /šuce/ to shake.

a/o : /ma/ wound; /mo/ male; /chamo/ brother's wife;  
/chama/ vegetable.

u/o : /pu/ hair on the body; /pɔ/ a kiss; /ɖu/ six; /ɖo/ hill;  
/lu/ song; /lo/ age; /chu/ water; /cho/ lake.

Besides the above minimal pairs the phonemic status of these vowels is also attested on the basis of their significant contrast available on account of their presence or absence in certain pairs of vocabulary items; as in /ama/ mother; /ma/ wound, /chao/ nephew, grandson: /čha/ salt; /chao/ nephew: /čho/ lake, /zao/ lame: /zo/ buttocks, etc.

1.1.2. *Vocalic Sequences*: There are no diphthongs in this language. However, the following types of vocalic sequences are usually attested in it.

1. Front + back:

-iu : /liũ/ flute, /ʃiu/ monkey.

eu : /neula/ mangoose.

2. Back + Front.

ui : /rui/ cotton

oi : /ɖoimo/ hot: /ɖ'oipa/ belly.

oe : /hoe/ light

ue : /nuece/ to buy.

3. Front + front.

ei : /ʃei/ mustard.

4. Back + back:

ao : /rao/ hoof.

au : /raũ/ housefly.

ua : /ʃua/ a boil, /guã/ egg.

oa : /ghoa/ oven

Central + Back:

ɒu : /ɒu/ husband, bridegroom.

1.1.3. *Distribution*: Distributionally all the vowels can occur in all positions without any restriction. This can be illustrated as under:

/ð/ : /ðci/ elder sister, /tðn/ mat, /sðmdð/ moustache

/a/ : /aba/ father, /lama/ goat, /laša/ thigh.

/i/ : /iru/ here: /laʔ thil/ palm; /ši/ louse.

/u/ : /ulthuñ/ necklace, /šruce/ to stir: /sibu/ ribs.

/e/ : /me/ fire, /pece/ to open, /meme/ grand father.

/o/ : /oma/ milk, /hogoce/ to understand, /thumo/ thick.

1.1.4. *Allophonic Variations*: The above noted vowels of Tod show certain allophonic variants in their respective phonetic environments:

(i) *Quantitative Variants*: The intrinsic quantity of all the vowels in Tod is short, but accented vowels when occurring at the end of an open syllable are realized comparatively long, though never so long as the English *bee* or Hindi *bāt* e.g. [min] name (short): [mi:] man (long), [mðr] butter: [ma:] wound. [tulce] to move: [tu:] child; [ðoimo] hot: [ðo:] hill. [yañ] again: [ya:] balching. However, the quantity of the vowel /a/, as compared with other vowels, is less affected in the above noted environment.

(ii) *Qualitative Variants*: Vowels /e, o, ð/ attest qualitative variants as well in their respective environments.

e→E: The mid front vowel /e/ is realized as low front vowel /E/ when occurring before a front vowel in the final position, as in /dece/= [dEce] to scratch, /cemce/= [cEmce] to sew, /thece/= [thEce] to be happy, /cece/= [cEce] to bite.

o→o: The mid back rounded vowel /o/ is realized as low back rounded vowel [ɔ] before a nasal consonant or when occurring with a glottal stop: /kɔʔce/ to snatch, /sogpo/= [sɔʔ po] bad, dangerous, /sogpa/= [sɔʔpa] wing, /coñ/= [cɔñ] onion; /ñɔñ/ a few, /kon/= [kɔñ] to kneel /thonson/= [thɔñsɔñ] saw, /yoce/= [yɔʔce] to scatter, to sprinkle.



$\partial \rightarrow e$  : The central vowel  $/\partial/$  is realized as mid front vowel  $/e/$  when occurring before a front vowel  $/i/$  or  $/e/$ , as in  $/s\partial i/ = [sei]$  advance money.  $/z\partial i/ = [zei]$  to eat,  $/t\partial ri/ = [tEri]$  axe.

(iii) *Glottalized Variant*: All vowels occurring before voiced stops, particularly before  $/b/$ ,  $/d/$  and  $/g/$  as their coda margins are pronounced with a glottal constriction or as their glottalized variants. In this dialect the phenomenon of glottalization is so strong as the following voiced consonant becomes almost imperceptible in most of the cases. It is only on the basis of historical or comparative data that the existence of the consonant can be maintained; e.g. the word  $/lagthil/$  palm, is realized as  $[la^?thil]$  only. Similarly  $/sogpa/ = [s\partial^?pa]$  wing,  $/sagpo/ = [sa^?po]$  brother-in-law,  $/migpu/ = [mi^?pu]$  eye brow/eye lashes,  $/lagpa/ = [la^?pa]$  hand,  $/du^?/$  is,  $/khyo^?/$  you;  $/rid-pa/ = [ri^?pa]$  weak.

Glottalization can take place independent of the voiced consonants as well as in  $/la^?/$  vulture,  $/zu^?/$  ill, pain,  $/ta^?ce/$  to grind, to lift,  $/cu^?ce/$  to prick,  $/lo^?ma/$  leaf.  $/lo^?a/$  lungs.  $/ce^?ci/$  to cut to pieces,  $/tho^?/$  roof,  $/lo^?/$  age.

(iv) *Nasalized Variants*: All vowels tend to be nasalized when occurring with nasal consonants or nasalized vowels, as in  $/yañ/ = [yãñ]$  again  $/rãũ/$  housefly,  $/rãñši/ = [rãñši]$  honey.  $/rĩñmo/ = [rĩñmo]$  long, tall,  $/coña/ = [c \tilde{o} ña]$  full moon day.

(v) *Glidalized variant*: The mid front vowel  $/e/$  tends to be realized along with the front glide  $/y/$  when occurring in a non-final syllable, as in  $/khela/ = [khyela]$  work,  $/lem/ = [lyem]$  now, just now,  $/khi/ = [khyi]$  dog.

## 1.2. Consonants

Consonant phonemes of Tod, obtained from their phonemic contrasts can, schematically, be presented as under:

(Place of articulation)		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Pal.	Vel.
Stops: Un-vd.	P	t			ʈ	c	k
(plosives) „ Asp.	ph	th			ʈh	ch	kh
	Voiced	b	d		d	j	g
	„ Asp.	bh	dh		ɖh	jh	gh
Affricates: Un-vd.					ɟ		
	„ Asp.				ɟh		
	Vd.				dʒ		
Fricatives: Un-vd.			ʈ	(ʂ)		ʃ	h
	Vd.		ʈ			ʒ	
Trill					r		
Lateral					l		
Nasal	m	n				ɳ	ŋ
Semi-consonants	w					y	

All the above noted consonants attest a binary division according to their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The classes of plosives and affricates further attest the opposition of presence *vs.* absence of voice, and presence *vs.* absence of aspiration. The fricatives, however, show a contrast of the presence *vs.* absence of the voice only.

1.2.1. *Phonemic contrasts:* As in other languages of this group, in Tod too though there are copious examples of phonemic contrasts of the consonant phonemes available in the initial position, yet the same is not true of other positions. Rather some of them do not attest this contrast in the medial and final positions. In fact, Tod being a vowel ending dialect allows only a few consonants in the final position. The four fold distinction of presence *vs.* absence of voice and aspiration too is attested in the initial position only. It is almost neutralized in the medial and final positions of a

locable. The phonemic contrasts of all the consonants available in Tod may be illustrated as follows:

*Plosives*

**Bilabials** : /p, ph, b, bh/

p/b : /pu/ hair on the body: /bu/ insect, worm.

/pece/ to open: /bece/ to hide.

p/ph : /pu/ hair on the body: /phu/ a blow from mouth.

/pañ/ lap: /phañ/ : spindle, /po/ a kiss: /pho/ female.

ph/b : /phurce/ to fly: /borce/ to let remain.

**Dentals**: /t, th, d, dh/

/t/d : /ta/ horse: /da/~/d'a/ arrow.

/təñ/ mat; /dəñ/ last, yesterday.

/t/ th : /tuñ/ to drink /thuñ/ short

/tence/ to clean: /thence/ to pull.

th/ d : /thuñ/ short: /doñ/ face

/thance/ to grow: /dunce/ to beat a drum

t/ dh : /ta/ horse; /dha/ season, /tace/ to see: /dha?ce/ to lick.

/th/dh: /thece/ to shorten: /dhece/ to chase, to sit.

**Retroflex** : /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh/

ṭ/ ḍ : /ṭu/ child: /ḍu/ six, /ṭe/ rice; /ḍe/ a measuring pot.

ṭ/ṭh: /ṭulce/ to move; /ṭhilce/ to embrace.

ṭh/ḍ: /ṭhul/ ghost: /ḍul ḍul/ to crows

/ṭhamo/ lean & thin: /ḍa?mo/ cold

ḍ/ḍh: /ḍice/ to ask for: /ḍhice/ to write

/ḍemo/ a bear: /ḍhimo/ a hybrid animal

d/ḍ: /ḍu/ bangle: /ḍu/ six.

**Palatals**: /c, ch, j, jh/

c/j: /cəl cəl/ round (small): /jəl jəl/ round (big).

c/ch: /cuce/ to prick (trans): /chuce/ to ripen

/cace/ fox: /chace/ ear-ring (male)

/ca/ iron: /cha/ cleaning of woolen Paṭṭu.

ch/ j: /chu/ water: /ju/ ill, pain.

/chəñ/ a beer: /jəñ/ north.

j/ jh: /ju/ ill, pain; /jhu/ finger

*Affricates:* /č, čh, dž/.

č/dž: /čire/ anything, /džire/ fear.

/čerce/ to stick (trans); /džerce/ a festival.

č/čh: /čəm/ hair, wool: /čhəm/ bridge.

čh: dž: /chañ/ urine: /džañ/ wide, /čho/ lake: /džo/ curd.

/čhao/ sister's son: /džao/ lame.

*contrast of palatal vs. affricates:*

c/č: /cici/ one: /či/ what?

ch/čh: /cha/ cleaning to woolen cloth; /čha/ salt; /chəñ/ beer: /čhañ/ urine.

j/dž: not very clear.

*Palatal stops affricative and semiconsonants* /č, ch, š, y/

c/y: /ca?/ iron: /ya/ belching, /chañ/ urine; /yañ/ again

y/ž: /yura/ water channel: /žura/ illness, /ya/ belching: /ža/ tea.

š/čh: /šante/ hard: /čhante/ hot.

*Velars:* /k, kh, g, gh/

k/g: /kace/ to refuse: /gaci/ saddle.

/kə? ce/ to snatch: /goce/ to divide.

/kəрма/ star: /gəρμο/ a hybride animal.

k/kh: /ka/ pillar: /kha/ mouth, snow; /ki/ credit; /khi/ dog.

/kəmpa/ tongs: /khəmpa/ house.

kh/g: /kho/ he, she: /go/ head.

k/gh: /kyuce/ to womit: /ghyuce/ to flow

/kə̃mce/ to be dry: /ghumce/ to sink.

g/gh: /guā/ egg: /ghoa/ oven.

/goce/ to divide: /gho?ce/ to laugh.

*liquids:* /r, l/

r/l: /ro/ corpse: /lo/ age, /karce/ to weight: /kalce/ to send  
/phurce/ to fly: /phulce/ to push.

*Nasals:* /m, n, ŋ, ñ/

m/n: /me/ fire: /ne/ barley. /mà/ wound: /ná/ nose.

/mo/ male: /no/ mother's brother's son.

m/ñ: /ma/ wound: /ña/ ffish, /me/ fire: /ñe/ pillow.

m/ñ: /ma/ wound: /ña/ five, /mən/ medicine: /nə̃n/ also  
/čhə̃m/ bridge: /chə̃n/ a beer.

n/ñ: /nance/ to press, to burry: /ñance/ to trample.

/na/ nose: /ña/ five; /tance/ to show: /tañce/ to make  
to drink.

n/ñ: /na; nose: /ña/ fish; /ne/ barley: /ñe/ pillow.

ñ/ñ: /ñance/ to trample: /ñance/ to listen, to taste;  
/nice/ to swallow: /ñece/ to rub.

*Fricatives:* /s, š, h/

s/š: /sa/ grass, clay: /ša/ flesh, /sei/ advance money . . /šei/  
mustard; /sace/ meal: /šace/ to split, /sice/ to count:  
/šice/ to know, /se?mo/ nail: /šemo/ thin.

s/h: /sola/ charcoal: /hyola/ low, below  
/siñmo/ sister: /hyañmo/ light in weight.

š/h: /šro/ anger: /ho/ yeast.

s/z: /sa/ grass, clay: /za-/ to eat.

š/ž: /ši/ louse: /ži/ four; /ša/ flesh: /ža/ tea.

z/ž: /zi/ panther: /ži/ four; /zo/ bullock: /žo/ curd.

**Semi-consonants:** Minimal pairs of phonemic contrasts of the semi-consonants, /y/ and /w/, are not available in this dialect. Their phonemic status, however, can be established on the basis of the contrasts of their phonemic absence.

y/φ: /tya/ navel: /ta/ horse.

/ʒya/ day (date): /ʒa/ tea.

w/φ: /dhwa/ stone: /dha/ month.

**1.2.2. Phonemic status of voiced aspirates:** Although on account of a strong tendency of aspiration in the initial position of a word, a number of voiced plosives are realized as their aspirate counterparts, yet there are not many instances in which they attest phonemic contrasts with their unaspirate counterparts. As such their phonemic status in the language is somewhat doubtful. In fact, most forms realized as voiced aspirates can be recognized as dialectal variations of their unaspirate voiced counterparts, e.g. /dha/ = /da/ arrow, /bhu/ = /bu/ insect, worm; /bhuca/ = /buca/ son, /ghu/ = /gu/ nine, /bhələn/ = /bələn/ cow etc. However, in view of a few contrast available, synchronically, warrant their recognition as phonemes of this language.

**1.2.3. Phonemic status of voiced sibilants:** In Tod both voiceless and voiced sibilants have a phonemic status. Phonemes /z/ and /ʒ/ are voiced counterparts of the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/ respectively. (for their phonemic contrasts see above). /z/ is a voiced counterpart of the palatal sibilant /ʃ/ and is pronounced in the same manner as in English words *pleasure* or *leisure*.

**1.2.4. Distribution:** Distributionally all the 36 consonants, including semiconsonants, y, w, can occur in the initial position of a word in Tod. All consonants but /ñ/, /h/ and voiced aspirates can occur in the medial positions as well, though, in this position, occurrence of sibilants and the retroflex plosives is very limited. Occurrence of consonants in the final position is, however, confined to nasals, /n, m, ŋ/ and the liquids, /r, l/ only, besides the voiced plosives /b/ and /d/

which occur in a few examples. Sporadic occurrence of /g/, as in /tʰəg/ a cheat, of /j/ as in /phəj/ army, of /k/ as in /tʰik/ right, and of /t/ as in /kot/ coat is attested in I.A. loans only. In fact, Tod, like Gahri, being a vowel ending language has a limited scope for the occurrence of consonants in this position. The only commonly attested consonants, occurring in this position, as stated above, are nasals and liquids. From the point of frequency, occurrence of nasals is greater than that of liquids and others.

It may also, however, be pointed out that as compared with Gahri the number of vocables containing retroflex sounds is greater in this dialect. It may be due to the fact that in most of the cases it follows the Tibetan pronunciation in which all plosive+ a trilled conjuncts have developed into retroflex sounds, as in /hbras/ = /dʒs/ = /dʒ/ rice, but in Gahri it is still pronounced as /brəs/ rice.

1.2.5. *Phonetic tendencies/allophonic variants*: Some of the consonantal phonetic peculiarities attested in the dialect of Tod may be pointed out as under:

(i) *Devoicing*: Voiced consonants, g, d, b, when occurring in the final position of the word are usually devoiced. Consequently, they are realized as their voiceless counterparts, as in /nub/ = [nup] west, /gyɔb/ = [gyɔp] back, /ñəb/ = [ñəp] rain. /thab-dwi/ = [thap-dwi] difficult, /khyod/ = [khyoʔt].

(ii) *Elision*: Denal and Velar plosives are completely elided when occurring in a pre-pausal or a pre-junctural position. In this environment the voiced plosives /d/ and /g/ are invariably preceded by a glottal constriction, marked as /ʔ/, e.g. /concoʔg/ god, /mentoʔg/ flower, /miʔg/ eye, /suʔgpo/ body, /thoʔg/ roof, /soʔgpo/ dirty < Tib. /cogpa/, /luʔg/ ewe, /ghoʔgpa/ garlic < Tib. /gogpa/ /loʔmo/ < Tib. /lod-ma/ leaf, /thaʔpa/ = Tib. /Thod-pa/ forehead. /kEʔ/ < /kəd/ sound, /ciʔk/ one, /sumcu sosiʔk/ thirty one, /duʔk/ was, /yoʔd/ is, /khyoʔt/ you.

(iii) *Aspiration*: All voiced stops and the semiconsonant /y/ are pronounced with copious aspiration when they occur in the initial position of a word, giving a clear perception of

their aspirate counterparts. A comparison with their Tibetan cognates will make this point clear. (In this analysis it has been marked as /ʔ/ after the contoid with which it is realized).

/dhoʔipa/ Tib. *dod-pa* belly; /d'aʔra/ < /dāra/ butter milk.

/d'eʔce/ < /*dod-pa* to chase; /b'eʔce/ < /*bed-pa* to conceal

/d'uʔdhud/ < /*dud* devil, /g'yaʔ/ < /*gyad* eight.

/d'iʔce/ < /*dig-dig* enough; /d'unla/ < /*dunla* forward.

/d'ampa/ < /*dam-pa* cheek; /d'oʔmo/ < /*dog-po* narrow.

/g'ubcu/ < /*gubcu* ninety; /g'epo/ < /*gad-po* old man.

/b'ata/ < /*bata* root; b'uca/ < /*buca* son, boy.

/g'anka/ /*gan* terrace; /d'oʔmo/ /*don-mo* warm

/m'eb'ərce/ /*me*—lightening.

(iv) *Glottalization*: Voiced consonants, viz. g, d, tend to be realized as a glottal stop when occurring in a pre-pausal or pre-junctural position:

/loʔma/ < /*lod-ma* leaf; /riʔpa/ < /*rid-pa* weak; /thaʔpa/ < /*thod-pa* forehead.

/lyuʔpa/ < /*lud-pa* cough; /coʔce/ < /*ced-pa* to do.

/kaʔce/ < /*kag. pa* to forgive; /zaʔ/ day, date.

/ghyaʔ/ < /*gyad* eight; /dheʔce/ < /*dod-pa* to chase.

/dhoʔmo/ < /*dog-po* narrow; /laʔthil/ < /*lagthil* palm.

/suʔpo/ < /*zug-po* body, /caʔ/ < /*cag* iron, /duʔ/ < /*dug* is.

/khyoʔ/ < /*khyod* you.

(v) *Fricativization*: Velar consonants, /k, kh, g/ tend to be fricativised when occurring in a pre-pausal or post-glottal-constriction positions, e.g. /kho/=[xo] he, /lekha/=[lexa] work, /laʔg/=[laʔg] hand, /doʔgpo/ [doʔgpo] river let, /khəndoʔ/=[xəndoʔ] he wishes; /khəməra/=[xəməra] I wish.

*Phonemic glottalization*: Glottalization in Tod, is not only a phonetic feature. There are a number of minimal pairs



in which it becomes a phonemic feature as well. This may be illustrated by the following pairs, attested in the language:

/taʔce/ to lift, to grind :	/tace/ to see
/cuʔce/ to prick :	/cuce/ to close
/zuʔ/ pain, ill :	/zu~zhu/ finger
/šaʔce/ to burn :	/šace/ split
/laʔ/ velture :	/la/ in, to.
/luʔ/ sheep :	/lu/ work.

The normal environment for the occurrence of a glottal stop or glottal constriction is either /V-C/ or /V-/. In the former case the /-C/ is invariably a voiced velar or dental stop (for example see above), which may or may not be perceptible to an outsider.

1.2.5. *Consonant Clusters*: In this language the scope for consonant clusters is not as wide as in other languages of this region. Moreover, no consonant cluster is attested in the final position. Different types of clusters attested in the initial or medial positions are as under:

(i) *Initial Position*: The most commonly attested pattern of consonant clusters in this position is (a) Plosive/fricative/liquid + a semi consonant, (b) a sibilant + a trill, (c) a plosive + a liquid. These may be illustrated as follows:

- (i) Plosive + y/w: /kyeti/ armpit, /gya/ hundred, /khyuce/ can, /ghyuce/ to follow, to chase, /tya/ navel, /tʰwice/ to wash, /tʰwa/ hammer, /dhwa/ stone.
- (ii) Fricative + y/w: /šyu/ paper, /hyaŋmo/ light in weight.
- (iii) Liquid + y/w: /rya/ forest, /lyðm/ now.
- (iv) Sibilant + r: /šrin/ cloud, /šro/ anger.
- (v) nasal + y: /myaʔn/ hole (single example)
- (vi) Plosive + liquid: /glalð/ pure, /glalðra/ alright.  
/brəʔspəti/ Thursday, /phlaske/ a bat.

(ii) *Medial*: The following type of clusters or sequences have been attested in our data.

- (i) nasal + plosive: /tence/ to clean, /ñon-po/ green, blue, /ninza/ poor fellow, /nðmbu/ woollen cloth, /nðngu/ secret, /nðmco/ ear, /rənta/ water mill, /kampo/ foot, /lo?npha/ steam, /šaŋpo/ clear, /kuŋti/ thirst.
- (ii) nasal + nasal: /kuŋma/ theft, /duŋma/ next.
- (iii) liquid + plosive: /norde/ mistake, /lalci/ greedy, /silgo/ window, /gəlte/ if, /thurce/ steep, /tərga/ walnut, /pulce/ to worship.
- (iv) liquid + nasal: /kəŋma/ star, /gəŋmo/ a hybride, animal. /narmo/ sweet, /nulma/ in olden days.
- (v) liquid + sibilant: /gyarsa/ ladder.
- (vi) plosive + plosive: /nəpti/ bad cold, /topce/ habit, /kyəpce/ to kick, /gogpo/ rude, bad, /dogpo/ rivulet, /kyobce/ to save.
- (vii) plosive + semi-consonant: /tizya/ daybefore yesterday.
- (viii) The only three member cluster attested in this position is a liquid + plosive + semiconsonant: /nolgya/ to wrestle.

1.2.6. *Gemination*: Tod does not seem to favour gemination, either phonemic or non-phonemic. At least we could not come across any example of gemination in our data.

### 1.3. Word Structure

Basically, the structure of a word in Tod is monomorphemic, but words of poly-morphemic structure too are not wanting. The phonetic peculiarities of a word, may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic, in this language are as follows:

1. Normally, a native word may begin with any vowel or

consonant recognized for this language, but always ends in a vowel, a nasal, a liquid or a voiced plosive.

2. No native word ends in a consonant cluster of any combination.
3. No native word can begin with a consonant cluster other than those described above.
4. In a slow tempo of speech it necessarily admits a momentary pause (*i.e.* external open juncture) on either side of it.

1.3.1. *Syllabic structure of a word:* From the point of the syllabic constituents of a word it may be said that in Tod it may have one or more such units which contain one or more phonemes of linguistically permissible sequences. Morphologically, these units can be both monomorphemic or polymorphemic, but semantically the meaning conveyed by the word in question is a composite one. The structure of various types of syllabic units of this language may be explained as under:

1.3.2. *Monosyllabic words:* In Tod, a monosyllabic word may have any one of the following syllabic patterns:

/V/: /i/ this, it

/CV/: /khi/ dog, /mi/ man, /lo/ age, /tu/ child, /sa/ grass,

/CVC/: /nub/ west, /min/ name, /yul/ country, /mər/ butter,  
/zəh/ north.

/CCV/: /rwa/ barren land, /rya/ forest, /ʃra/ hair,  
/tya/ navel, /gya/ 100, /thwa/ hammer.

/CCVC/: /gyəb/ back, /ʃrin/ cloud, /phris/ sneeze,  
/zwar/ grazing, /kyon/ cause.

1.3.3. *Dissyllabic words:* In dissyllabic words the patterns of syllabic constituents are as under:

/VV/: /əu/ husband, bridegroom.

/VCV/: /aba/ father, /aco/ elder brother, /aci/ elder sister,  
/oma/ milk, /iru/ here, /aku/ mother's sister's husband.

/CVV/: /phia/ animal, /liũ/ flute, /šei/ mustard, /siu/ pepper,  
/chao/ sister's son.

/CVVC/: /teir/ bread, /saon/ seed.

/CVCV/: /meme/ grand father, /siri/ all, every, /piši/ cat,  
/rupha/ bone, /bomo/ daughter, /yoma/ left side.

/CVCCV/: /digpa/ sin, /mañpo/ much, /norde/ error,  
/gormo/ cup, /chinmo/ big, /marpho/ red.

/CVCVC/: /balan/ cow, /šikhan/ dead, /riboñ/ hare,  
/alon/ ear-ring, /ðjðñ/ father-in-law.

/CVCCVC/: /kir-kir/ circle, /mul-mul/ luke worm. /cəl-cəl/  
round.

/CCVCV/: /sruce/ complaint, /hyoñce/ to come, /ghyuce/ to  
flow, /srece/ to mix, /kyapa/ excreta.

/C VCCVC/: /khyañmi?g/ room,

/CVCCCV/: /khirkyā/ excreta of animals, /nəmgya/ trousers,  
/nolgya/ to wrestle.

/CVCCVC/: /mənḍuk/ frog, /ulthuñ/ garland, /gurchag/  
/marigold, /khogtoñ/ hollow.

/CCVCCV/: /zyarce/ to inform, /gyðrsa/ ladder, /gyogpa/  
quickly, /kyobce/ to save.

/CCVCVC/: /srudup/ ring.

1.3.4. *Polysyllabic words*: In a trisyllabic or polysyllabic word the usual structure and sequence of syllabic constituents is attested as under:

/CVCVCV/: /chamoce/ grand daughter, /ropoca/ musk deer,  
/hagoce/ to understand.

/CVCVCCV/: /mɛlɪŋgi/ dull, /ɔdɪrce/ thunder.

/CVCVCVC/: /phosocɛn/ proud.

/CVVCV/: /ñuece/ to buy, /neula/ mangoose.

/CVCCVCVC/: /pinkiti?g/ lizard.

/CCVCCVCV/: /brɛspɛti/ Thursday.

The number of trisyllabic words is limited in it and there are no quadrisyllabic words too in it. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic words are both, mono-morphomic and poly-morphomic.

1.3.5. *Syllabic division*: In a disyllabic word the initial syllable bears a higher accent, consequently, it is clearly kept apart from the succeeding syllable. As such the syllabic division is clearly maintained, even in the case of syllabic sequences, e.g. /pi-ši/ cat, /kye-ti/ armpit, /me-bu/ glow worm, /no-cuñ/ younger brother, /cin-te/ heavy, /ɔ-u/ husband, /ra-o/ hoof, /še-i/ mustard, /ul-thuñ/ necklace. /men-to?g/ flower.

From the above examples it may also be evident that in case of complex interludes, the first consonant, as a coda-margin of the preceding syllable, goes with it, and the second consonant, as an onset margin, goes with the succeeding syllable.

In poly-syllabic words, the syllabic entity of the first two syllables is, fully maintained due to higher accent on them but it is considerably reduced in the last one, as in /pho-so-cɛn/ proud, /cha-mo-ce/ grand-daughter, /pin-ki-ti?g/ lizard, etc.

## 2.0. GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

### 2.1. Word Classes

On the basis of their morphological peculiarities and syntactic position the word classes found in Tod, are—nouns, personal and demonstrative pronouns, modifiers, verbs, and function words. Normally, as in other languages, in this language, too,

words of noun, pronoun and verb classes enter into various types of morphological inflections, whereas others do not. As such words belonging to the former classes are variable, *i.e.* are inflectional and those belonging to the latter classes are invariable or non-flexional.

## 2.2. Word Formation

In Tod, a word can be both monomorphemic as well as polymorphemic. The morphological processes employed for the formation of polymorphemic words are: juxta-position, prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, compounding, and replacement. Of these the device of suffixation is the most common one, particularly with regard to nominal, pronominal and verbal word formations. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words may be presented in the following respective sections of this analysis.

## 2.3. Noun

Syntactically, a noun in Tod functions as a subject, or object of a verb. It may also function as a predicative word referring to the subject or the object. Morphologically, it may be associated with various markers of grammatical categories such as number and case or may be followed by postpositions.

2.3.1. *Nominal Stems*: Like many other languages of the T.H. group in Tod too three kinds of nominal stems are normally attested, *i.e.* primary, derived and compound. Out of these the number of primary stems is the largest. Historically, a majority of them belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, but there are some which either belong to the native dialects of the region or have been borrowed from the neighbouring I A. dialects.

Primary stems belonging to the Tibetan sources are both monosyllabic and poly-syllabic, *e.g.* /mi/ man, /me/ fire, /zi/ panther, /zo/ curd, /tu/ child, /du/ six, /do/ hill, /chu/

water, /čha/ salt, /chomo/ vegetable, /chamo/ brother's wife, /oma/ milk, /lama/ goat, /balañ/ cow, /rupha/ bone etc.

Similar is the case of stems belonging to other sources, as in /piši/ cat, /nəmcə?/ ear, etc. Moreover, as compared with other dialects of this region, the number of I. A. loans is the minimum in this dialect. The few of them attested in our data are- /cəku/ knife, /chəli/ maize, /muli/ radish, /mɛʒala/ spices, /phoʃ/ army, /črsi/ mirror, /əru/ potato, /gəri/ coconut, /khād/ sugar, /kukri/ hen, /thəg/ a cheat, /thik/ right, etc.

2.3 2. *Stem formation*: In it the normal mechanism of noun stem formation is prefixation, suffixation reduplication and compounding, which may be illustrated as under:

(A) *Prefination*: This phenomenon is mainly attested with stems related to kinship terms. /a-ba/ father, /a-ma/ mother, /a-bi/ grandmother, /a-ci/ elder sister, /a-co/ elder brother, /a-ne/ father's sister, mother-in-law.

(B) *Suffixation*: Suffixation is the most common device of stem formation. In this case, usually, the root as well as the formative suffixes are bound forms and the resultant form functions as complex stem to which are added the number and case suffixes. There are different types of formative suffixes attested in it. Some of these may be given ahead.

- (i) /-ma/: /cher-ma/ bush, /cha-ma/ vegetable, /ña-ma/ day, /loʔma/ leaf, /kəɾ-ma/ stars, /ra-ma/ goat, /zo-ma/ pitcher;
- (ii) /-mo/: /cha-mo/ wife or brother's wife, /ña-mo/ morning, /bu-mo/ daughter, /sriñ-mo/ sister, /zo-mo/ a hybrid animal.
- (iii) /-pa/: /chin-pa/ liver, /laʔpa/ hand, /thug-pa/ a food preparation, /səɱm-pa/ sattū, /goʔ-pa/ garlic, /zi-pa/ bird, /si-pa/ wall.
- (iv) /-po/: /the-po/ thumb, /sug-po/ body, /dog-po/ rivulet.
- (v) /-bo/: /laʔbo/ servant. /don-bo/ stem of tree.
- (vi) /-ba/: /go-ba/ head.

(vii) /-lo/: /bo-lo/ buttocks.

(viii) /-ro/: /phe-ro/ night.

(ix) /cɔ̃n/: /phoso-cɔ̃n/ proud.

(x) /-ce/: /chamo-ce/ niece, grand daughter.

(xi) /The formative suffix of the agentive noun is /-kɔ̃n/~ /ken/ as in /phurken/ one who flies, /tañken/ one who gives, /sārak tāñken ta/ horse that runs, /silken/ one who reads.

(c) *Compounding*: In a compounded stem both the constituents of it are free forms, their independent meanings, e.g. /ama-cuñ/ mother's sister=younger mother, /lag-thil/ /palm/=hand-below/ back: /no-cuñ/ younger brother, /no-mo/ younger sister, /me-cuñ/ maternal aunt, /sil-go/ window, /me-bu/ glow worm, /mig-pu/ eyebrow, /bema-lɔ̃pci/ butterfly, /tañ-yul/ hell, /la-yul/ heaven,=god country, /sɔ̃n-gul/ earch quake, /khoñ-toñ/ hollow, /khuru-kekhɔ̃n/ porter=load carrier, /chu-mig/ water source=water-eye, /z'u-mɔ̃r/ ghee.

(d) *Re-duplication*: There are a few stems which undergo the phenomenon of reduplication, e.g. /ci-ci/ one, /kir-kir/ circle, /te-te/ grandmother, /me-me/ grand father, etc.

2.3.4. *Nominal Inflection*: As in other languages of this group in Tod, too, nominal stems are inflected for the number and the case categories only, there being no grammatical gender in it.

2.3.4.1. *Number*: In Tod, like Tibetan, nominal, pronominal or verbal stems are inflected for two numbers only, viz. singular and plural. Infact, in nominal or pronominal inflections the singular is not marked overtly, i.e. it has only a zero morpheme. It is the absence of plural marker which distinguishes it from the plural. The plural markers, however, follow the stem and precede the case suffixes, but in the verbal conjugation these follow the tense-aspect marker suffixes, though in most of the cases there is hardly any difference in the singular and plural forms of the verbal conjugation.



The plurality in nouns is expressed in two ways, (1) by means of plural marker suffixes, occurring in their respective phonetic environments.

(ii) by adding a numeral other than for 'one' or by adding a qualifier conveying the sense of 'some, a few, many, all' etc. In verbal constructions, it is however, inferred from the number of the subject of the verb form in question.

(i) *Suffixal plurality*: The pluraliser suffixes, normally employed in Tod are: /-un/, /-ša/žə, -bo/-čho/. Their distribution is as under:

/-'un/=[hun]: It is affixed to animate nominal stems, ending in a vowel, as in /b'uca-'un/ boys from /b'uca/ boy, /ta-'un/ horses, /chao-'un/ grandsons, /chamo-ci-'un/ grand daughters, /rabo-'un/ goats, /b'umo-'un/ girls.

/-za, -cho/: These suffixes are affixed to the first and second person pronominal stems, in free variation, as in /naž~nachə/ we from /na/ I, /naza-la/ to us, /naze/ our etc. /khyod/ thou: /khyod-za, khyod-čho/ you (pl.), /khyod-za-la/ for you, /khyodze/ yours (pl.).

/-ba, -čho/: These suffixes too occur in free variation with third person pronominal stem, as in /kho/ he: /kho-ba, kho-čho/ they, /kho-ba-la/ for them, /kho-be/ their, etc.

(ii) *Non-suffixal plurality*: The non-suffixal plurality is affected in two ways (a) by adding a modifier, numeral or otherwise, indicative of the sense of plurality, e.g. /māñ~māñpo/ many, /mind/ many, much, /isəb/ many, much, /siri/ all, etc. (b) by reduplicating the nominal stem in question. These may be illustrated by the following examples.

Sg.	Pl.
/mi/ man:	/mimāñ~mimāñpo/ (=many man) men
/buʃa/ tree:	/buʃa māñpo/ (=many tree) trees
/luʔ/ sheep:	/luʔ siri/ (=all sheep) sheep (pl.)
/luʔ/ sheep:	/luʔgya/ (=100 sheep) sheep (pl.)

It may further be noted that addition of these modifiers, conveying the sense of plurality, is possible with nominal stems having the scope of suffixal plurality. In that case the plural marker suffix /-un/ is totally left out, as in /ta siri/ all horse=horses, /buca mðñpo/ many boy=boys etc.

(b) In non-human nominal stems the plurality can also be affected by reduplication of the stem concerned with the help of the connective particle /dðñ/, as in /buða dðñ buða/ trees, /šriu dðñ šriu/ monkeys.

2.3.4.2. *Gender*: As other languages of this group, Tod too, does not recognize any grammatical gender, nor there is any inbuilt prefixo-suffixal system to distinguish the gender of any animate being. The natural gender which in no way affects the phonemic structure of other constituents of a syntactic string is, however, distinguished. (i) either by using distinct lexical items for paired units of male and female (ii) or by adding words denoting the sense of 'male' or 'female' or of 'he' and 'she'. Moreover, the natural gender distinction too, is applicable to animate beings only, inanimate objects are all genderless. Further, for the purpose of gender differentiation animate beings too are treated as human and non-human. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

- (i) As pointed above, the distinction of human beings is indicated by using independent sets of terms for the male and female counterparts of the pair.

Masculine	Feminine
/aba/ father	/ama/ mother
/z'o/ land lord	/sema/ land lady.
/meme/ grandfather	/ðbi, tete/ grandmother.
/ta/ horse	/goema/ mare
/ðjəñ/ maternal uncle	/mecuñ/ maternal aunt.
/ču/ husband	/chamo/ wife
/balañ/ cow	/lañto?/ ox
/ðjðñ/ father. in-law	/ane/ mother-in-law.

(ii) There are certain nominal stems, both human and non-human, in which the feminine forms are obtained by prefixing or suffixing the terms /-mo, -ma/ to their genderless masculine counterparts:

<i>masc.</i>	<i>fem.</i>
/chao/ grandson	/cha-mo/ grand-daughter
/pod-pa/ Tibetan (male)	/pod-pa-mo/ Tibetan (female)
/khace/ a Kashmiri (m).	/khace-mo/ a Kashmiri (f.)
/khi/ dog	/khi-mo/ bitch
/zik/ tiger	/zik-mo/ tigress
/zo/ a hybrid animal	/zo-mo/ female of it.

But there are paired groups of nominal stems in which both the terms have their natural gender markers. The following pairs have been noted in our data:

po : mo—gyapo	king	gyamo	queen
g'epo	oldman	g'emo	old woman
pho : mo—gârpho	a male hybrid	gârmô	a fem. hybrid animal.
bo : mo—ra-bo	male goat	ra-mo	female goat.
ca : mo—b'uca	son	b'u-mo	daughter
pho : $\phi$ —phokukri	cook	kukri	hen

2.3.4.3. *Case*: Case is a grammatical category in Tod, and can be established on morpho-syntactic bases. Besides, expressing the relationship of a noun with the verb in general, a case, particularly the genitive case, also expresses a relationship between two nouns. The grammatical relations expressed by cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, advantage, separation, origin, possession, material composition, place, etc.

In Tod the case relations are expressed (i) either by means of suffixes, affixed to the bare stems of substantives in the

singular, and after the number suffix in the plural, (ii) or by means of postpositions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In some of the cases the case suffixes are tied up with number suffixes. Schematically, these may be presented as under:

Direct.	Sg.	pl.
	ϕ	ϕ
Acc. dative	—la	—la
Ag. Erg.	—i /e/ si	—i /e/ si
Abl.	(gen. +) khani/ni	(gen. +) khani/in
Genitive	—e	—e
Loc.	(gen. +) la/khala	(gen. +) la/ khala.

It may be noted from the above that of these only -i (erg.), -ni (abl.) and -e (gen.) are the suffixes, all others are postpositions denoting various casual relations.

2.3.5. *Syntactic correlations of case forms:* Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms may be explained as under:

2.3.5.1. *Direct case:* Morphologically, the direct case has no markers for any number. Syntactically, it is used for denoting the following grammatical relationships:

(i) It is the subject of an intransitive verb:

/khyo? gala chaya/ where are you going?

/khoba dañ yoñ soñ/ they came yesterday.

/ñima syðro/ the sun is rising.

/i tu thañka la dðe leto?/ the child is sitting on the ground.

(ii) A predicative noun referring to a subject/object.

/i ta hina/ it is a horse.

/ram ñe aco hin/ Ram is my brother.

/mohan ñe ñose hin/ Mohan is my friend.

/khoi rini sa khyoñsoñ/ he brought grass from the forest.

(iii) Object of transitive verb:

/khoise isəb buʔa cedoʔ/ he cut down many trees.

/ñe cici kuʂu zoeməñ/ I ate an apple.

/khoi hige siluʔ/ he is reading a letter.

/buʔa cod/ cut down the tree.

(iv) Direct object of a verb having double objects.

/ña ʔula cici phəl tayo/ I am giving a fruit to the child.

/ña i hige acola ɖeyoʔ/ I am writing this letter to the elder brother.

/ña khyoc philla tibi khyəməñ/

I have brought a cap for you.

(v) Direct address or the vocation:

/woe buca/ O boy!, Oh son!

/woe b'omo'un/ O girls!

2.3.5.2. *Accusative -dative*: The acc. dative maker in Tod is the postposition *-la* which follows the number suffixes: Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following types of grammatical relationships.

(i) It is the case of animate object or indirect object of a transitive verb.

/ña khyola ɖaba ten/ I shall give you money.

/khoi ñala zace ton/ he gave me food.

/ña i tibi khyola ten/ I will give this cap to you.

(ii) A verbal noun acting as a logical object also is placed in this case.

/kho lice la minɖa ñɖicəñ toʔ/

he is quite efficient in weaving.

/te tulce la minḍa kyopha ʔuto/

he is very fast in walking.

(iii) Object of conjunctive participle.

/khyoela toe te minḍa gya la zuṇ/ I was happy to see you.

Besides serving as the accusative dative marker, *-la* also indicates various other grammatical relations, such as,

(i) the allocative relationship, usually indicated by postpositions like, *in, on* in English:

/i ʔu thaṅka la ḍəe leto/ this child is sitting on the ground.

/buṭa la zipa-ni?/ two birds are there on the tree.

/sinḱa-la cici rama to?/ there is a goat in the field.

(ii) the sense of possession expressed by 'have/has' in Eng.

/ṇa-la lug-gya yo?/ I have 100 sheep.

/kho-la cici khi to?/ he has a dog.

(iii) It is also used with nominal stems indicating the destination of a verb of movement or direction.

/ṇa thore simla la chace hin/ I have to go to Shimla tomorrow.

/ṇa khḍṇpa la chace khḍmra/ I want to go to home.

/ṇe kho rea la chace thoṇmḍn/ I saw him going towards the forest.

/kho khḍṇpa la chana/ He will go home.

2.3.5.3. *Ergative case*: As in other languages of this group, in Tod, too, the ergative case is used to express the subject of a transitive verb except a few, like /za/ to eat, as in /kho zaro/ he eats/ is eating, though no such an exception is attested in the past tense uses, as in /ṇe cici kuṣu zoemḍn/ I ate an apple. It has three allomorphs, viz. /-i/, /-e/, /-si/. Their distribution is attested as under:

(i) /-i/: It occurs in free variation with the /-e/ with the second and third person pronominal stems, /khoi kola

gəmnənla cuson/ he put clothes in the box, /khoe  
 nē ɖaba tancehin/ he has given my money. /khyoe  
 nāe philla ci khyəu-mən/ what have you brought for  
 me? /kхой zero/ he said. It is also used with the plural  
 marker /-un/, as in /b'umo'-uni/ by the girls, /buca'-  
 uni/ by boys.

- (ii) /-e/: It is a product of Sandhi between /a+i/ or /o+i/,  
 e.g. /b'uca+i/ > /b'uce/ by the child, /b'umo+i/  
 > /b'ume/ by the girls~girl; /nā+i/ > /nē~nae/ I, by  
 me, /nē buʔani šin cemən/ I broke away wood from the  
 tree. It is also realized as /-e/ with plural markers,  
 /-ba, -za, cho/ as in /khoba+i/ → /khobe/ by them,  
 they; /khyoza+i/ → /khyoze/ by you (pl.), /naza+i/ →  
 /naze/ by us, we.

/se~si/: Occurrence of these allomorphs, in free varia-  
 tion, is attested after stems or singular forms ending in a  
 front vowel, as in /khyola sui-si zero/ who told you? /b'uce-se  
 lekha coru?/ boys are doing work. It is also attested as a  
 double ergative marker with pronominal stems, as in /kхой-si  
 isəb buʔa cedo?/ he cut down many trees, /kхой-si tibi goe  
 khala borson/ he put the cap on his head, /naeze-si khola  
 zermən/ we said to them.

2.3.5.4. *Instrumental/Agentive*: Suffixes for the agentive  
 case are similar to that for the ergative case. However, the  
 instrumental aspect is expressed by /dañ/ with—/kho ləʔpa dañ  
 zayo/ he is eating with hand.

2.3.5.5. *Associative case*: The associative case which expres-  
 ses either casual or inherent association of a thing or a person  
 with some other thing or person is expressed with the help of  
 the postposition /ñampo/ 'with', as in /na khyoe ñampo sokhol-  
 deyo?/ I am not happy with you/ I am angry with you.

2.3.5.6. *Dative*: The sense of the dative case is expressed  
 either with the accusative marker /la/ or with the postposition  
 /philla/ which follows the genitive base of the noun or pronoun  
 concerned, as in /na khoe philla tibi khyonde yo?/ I have  
 brought a cap for him; /khyoe nāe philla či khyoūmən/

what did you bring for me?. It is also used with infinitives, as in /khoi ñala hðũce philla zero/ he has asked us to come, /ñazesĩ khola lace philla zermðn/ we asked them to sit.

2.3.5.7. *Ablative*: The casual relationship of separation of a thing or person from another thing or person is expressed with the postposition /khani~ni/: /khoe khani/ from him, /khobe khani/ from them, /buce khani/ from the boy, /buñani/ from the tree, /ñe buñani ñin cemðn/ I broke away wood from the tree, /khoi ryani sa khyoñson/ he brought grass from the forest, /khðñpani cici peca khurd so?/ bring a book from home, /khyo kð: ni 'yoñson/ where are you coming from, /kho kyalsani ñem 'yoñson/ when did he come from Kullu? /ñima sðrni saro?/ The sun rises from the east.

The sense of 'from' is expressed with /nise/ as well, as in /ñamo-nise phitog chapðl/ from morn till evening.

2.3.5.8. *Genitive*: The genitive case expresses a mutual relationship between two substantives. In Tod it is expressed with the suffix /-e/ directly affixed to the stem in the singular number and to the plural marker in the plural, /khoe/ his: /khobe/ their, /khyoe/ thine: /khyoze/ your, /ñe/ my: /ñaze/ our. In vowel ending stems the stem final vowel is, normally, amalgamated with the genitive suffix, as in /ñae~ñe/ my, /bucæ/→/buce/ of the boy, /buñæ/→/bute/ of the tree, /b'umoe/→/b'ume/ of the girl, etc. /buñe yenla/ branches of the tree, /ñe aco/ my elder brother, /khyoe ci min hin/ what is your name?, /i lu? siri mohðne hina/ these goats are of Mohan. /khyoe khðñpa gañde hin/ which one is your house?

Genitive case has a syntactic importance in the language, because it serves as a base for all the casual relationships expressed with the help of various postpositions (see 2.3.6a).

2.3.5.9. *Locative*: The use of locative is restricted to inanimate nouns only. The only case suffix of locative attested in our data is -ru; as in /kho ñe khðñparu ðeyod/ he is in my house, /ña iru tekðn/ I shall remain at this very place, /khðñparu sui yo?/ who is in the house?

However, allocative relations are expressed with the help of different postpositions. Some of these are as under:



- (i) /-la/: 'on' (for examples see above, acc.—dative case)
- (ii) /khala/: It also conveys the sense of 'on'.  
 /khoise tibi goe khala borsoñ/ he put a cap on his head.  
 /buṭa khala cici zipa tede duk/ a bird is seated on the tree.
- (iii) /nañ la/ it conveys the sense of 'inside'.  
 /khoi kola gðm nañla cusoñ/ he put clothes inside the box.  
 /khoi za ca kore nañlā-lu?to/ he is pouring tea in cups.

2.3.6. *Postpositions*: There are certain indeclinable terms which like case suffixes indicate the casual relationship of nouns or pronouns with other nouns or pronouns in a syntactic string. As is clear from their nomenclature. They invariably follow a noun or pronoun to denote the relationship for which they stand. In Tod they normally, follow a noun/ pronoun in the genitive case.

There are also certain postpositional elements which explain a spatial relationship and function as adverbs. In such cases these do not follow the noun in genitive case. The adverbial use of these postpositional elements will be explained in the relevant sections. The government of various postpositions of Tod may be presented as follows:

- (a) Post-position following an inflected form of a noun/ pronoun in the genitive case—
  - (i) /philla/ It is used to express the meaning 'for', 'for the sake of', etc.  
 /khoi ñae philla miṭhai khyðūsoñ/ he brought sweet for me.
  - (2) /ñampo/ It expresses the sense of 'with'.  
 /na khyoe ñampo sokholde yo?/ I am unhappy with you.
  - (3) /khala/ It is used to indicate the allocative sense of 'on'.  
 /khoisi tibi go'e khala borsoñ/ he put the cap on the head.  
 /khoe lu? khala khuru kəlsoñ/ he put load on sheep.
  - (4) /nañla/ It expresses the allocative sense of 'inside'.

/khoi za kore nañla lu? to/ he is pouring tea in cups.

(for more examples of /khala/ and /nañla/ see above, locative case).

(5) /thila/ under: /buṭe thilla/ under the tree.

In a colloquial speech, however, some of these may follow just an uninflected form of a noun as well, as in /khoi kola gəm nañla cuson/ he put clothes in the box.

/buṭa khala cici zipa tededuk/ a bird is seated on the tree.

(for the various uses of the postpositional /-la/ see above acc. dative case).

### 2.3.7. Models of nominal declensions

(1) *b'uca* child /boy/ son.

	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	b'uca	b'uca-'un
Acc. dat.	b'ucala	b'uca-'unla
Ag. Erg.	b'uce	b'uca-'uni
Abl	b'ucakhani/-ni	b'uca-'uni~khani
gen.	b'uce	b'uca-'uni
Loc	No inflection	

(2) *b'omo* girl/daughter.

Direct	b'omo	b'omo-'un
Acc. dat.	b'omola	b'omo-'unla
Ag. Erg.	b'ome'	bomo-'uni
Abl.	b'omokhani/-ni	b'omo-'uni khani
Gen.	b'ome	bomo-'uni
Loc.	No inflection.	

(3) *Buta* tree

Direct	buṭa	buṭa (/māṇpo/no suffix)
Acc. dat.	No inflection	×
Ag.	No inflection	×
Abl.	buṭani	×
gen.	buṭe/buṭhe	×
Loc.	buṭhala/-khala	x

*Note:* In the animate class there is no inflection for locative case and in the inanimate class for accusative-dative and agentive-ergative cases.

### 3.0. PRONOUNS

Pronouns which substitute nouns can, like nouns, function as subject, object, etc. in a syntactic construction. Morphologically, these, too, are inflected for two numbers and six casual relations, including postpositional relations. They are not inflected for locative case at all.

Semantically, these show five way distinction, on the basis of which these can be classed as (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinite, (5) Reflexive. Paradigmatically, these classes can be further grouped in two groups, *viz.* personal and non-personal, because of the distinctive character exhibited by them in their inflectional forms, which may be stated in the following terms:

- (a) Paradigmatically, all personal pronouns share all characteristics of animate nouns, whereas others follow the inanimate patterns.
- (b) The second person pronoun has two/three distinct stems for the ordinary and honorific terms, which others have not.
- (c) On the other hand, all non-personal pronouns, in their uninflected form, can function as a modifier to a

noun which personal pronouns cannot, though in their inflected genitive case form these too can function as pronominal adjectives.

It may be interesting to note that, unlike other languages of this region, Tod maintains the stem bases of all pronouns throughout their inflections, *i.e.* there is no replusive phenomenon operative in it.

### 3.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns stand for nouns of 'the person speaking, the person spoken to,' and the 'person or thing spoken about.' They are termed as 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems. In this data we could not, however, come across the distinctive feature of the 1st person plural forms, *viz.* inclusive and exclusive forms, as we find in other language of the T.H. group.

In the second person, of course, we come across a three way distinction expressed by employing three distinct stems.

(i) /khyot/, a non-honorific term used to address a closely intimate or inferior person.

(ii) /ñorañ/~ñoza/, an honorific term, used to address a person with a higher social status than the speaker, or an elderly person. It is also used as a formal address to a person with a higher social status than the speaker, or an elderly person. It is also used as a formal address term when addressing a stranger.

(iii) /khyorañ/ It is also an honorific term and can be used in all situations. In some cases the plural forms like /khyoza/ or /khyocho/ also can be used to show respect to the addressee.

In third person no regular distinction of honorific and non-honorific term is maintained. The honorific sense, if desirable, can be expressed by using plural form for the singular, as in /khoba ðaṇ iru yonson/ he (hon.) came here yesterday.

From the point of inflection, personal pronouns fully agree with the inflectional patterns of animate nouns, *i.e.* the case

suffixes/postpositions added to them are the same and follow the same morphophonemic rules. In the case of number suffixes, however, they follow a different pattern. Accordingly, in them the plurality is marked by suffixes, *-ba*, *-za*, and *-cho*, singularity, as in nominal stems, is left unmarked in the direct case. However, in the case of honorific terms the plural is formed with /hun/ as well, as in /ñorañhun/ you (hon. plural), /khyorañ hun/ you (hon. pl.) .

Complete paradigms of these pronouns can be presented in the following tables:

Case	Sg.	pl.
Direct	ña	ña-za/ña-cho
Acc. dative	ña-la	ñaza-la/ñacho-la
Ag. Erg.	ñae/ñe	ñaze/ ñachoe
Dative	ñe/ñae philla	ñaze philla-
Abl.	×	×
Gem.	ñae/ñe	ñaze/ñachoe

#### 2nd Person

Direct	khyot (non. hon.)	khyot-za/khyo-cho
	ñorañ (hon.)	ñorancho/ñoran'un
	khyorañ (hon.)	khyorañcho-
Acc. dative	khyot-la/ñoran-la	khyotza la/ñorañ-'un la
Ag. Erg.	khyoe/ñorañe	khyot-ze/ñorañze
Dative	khyoe philla/ ñorañ philla	khyo-ze philla ñorañ-ze-philla
Abl.	×	×
Gen.	khyoe (non. hon.)	khyotze/noran-ze
	khyorañe (hon.)	
	ñorañe (hon.)	

## 3rd Person

Direct.	kho	kho-ba/kho-cho
Acc./dat.	khola	khoba-la
Ag. Erg'	khoe/khoi	khobe
Dative	khoe philla	khobe <sub>2</sub> philla
Abl.	khoe khani	khobe khani (rare)
Gen.	khoe	khobe

*Note:* The third person pronoun is used both as personal pronoun as well as demonstrative pronoun.

## 3.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

3rd person personal pronouns also represent the demonstrative pronouns, which are used for pointing out a relatively 'remote' or 'proximate' person or thing. In Tod they are attested as /i/ this (proximate), /kho/ he, that (remote, human being), /te/ that (remote, non-human being/thing). The stems /i/ and /te/ are seldom inflected. If necessary, their inflection too, is similar to that of /kho/, as in /i ila/ to this, /i ñe aco hin/ this fellow is my elder brother.

In a syntactic string whether these stems are to be treated as personal pronouns or demonstrative pronouns can be ascertained from the context only, *i.e.* when there is definite 'pointing out' they are to be taken as demonstrative, and when they merely substitute a noun head then they are to be taken as personal pronouns. In a direct communication demonstrative pronouns are usually accompanied with kinetics as well, *i.e.* pointing out with gestures.

## 3.3. Interrogative Pronouns

It is used for enquiring about some one or something. Tod has three interrogative pronouns, *viz.* /sui/ who?, /či/ what? and /gante/~/gañde/ which one?, *e.g.* /khyoe aco sui hin/ who is your brother? /khyoe min ci hin/ what is your name?, /gañde hin khyoe khānpa/ which one is your house?. In this the term for 'which' normally occurs as a modifier and as such is not

inflected for any number or case, but the other two are inflected for all cases, though for the singular number only.

/kho kyalsa la cila boi?soñ/ why did he go to Kullu?

/khyola suisi zero/ who told you?/kho teru cila boi?soñ/  
what for did he go there? /i ta sue to?/ whose horse is this?,  
/khyo nala ci ten/ what will you give to me?, /su mi/ which  
man?

### 3.4. Indefinite Pronouns

Pronouns of this class refer to an unknown or unidentified person. As in other languages, in Tod too, these are formed with interrogative stems. They are /cire/ which thing, anything /cuðñ/ any, /cuñ/ some. /siri/~ /chðñ-ma/ all, /khð-cik/ some, /ñon/ a few, /suðñmino/ no body, none, as in /iru suðñmino/ there is no body here, /sure/ anyone, /cire mare/ whatever, /suinðñ/ whoever.

### 3.5. Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns substitute and refer to a noun or pronoun which is, as a rule, the logical subject of the sentence. It has a full series of reflexive pronouns, parallel to personal pronouns which are inflected for all numbers and cases. The reflexive suffixes are /rã~rẽ/ which are added to all the personal pronouns as well as to the demonstrative pronouns.

/ñarẽ kola? ñarẽ can/ I myself will wash my clothes.

/ñazarẽ kola? ñazarẽ can/ we ourselve will wash our clothes.

/khyorã kola? khyorã cok/ thou thyself will wash their clothes.

/khyozarã kola? khyozarã cok/ you yourself will wash your clothes.

/ñora kola? ñora cok/ you (hon.) will wash . . .

/khorã kola? khorã cona/ he will wash his clothes.

/khobarã kola? khobarã cana/ they will wash their clothes.

/ña ñara lekha cokðñ/ I want to do my work.

### 3.6. Relative Pronouns

As in other languages of the T.H. group in Tod, too, there are no separate stems of relative pronouns. Usually, the interrogative pronouns are employed to serve the purpose of relative pronouns as well; or usually it is left out too.

/su'yon, khola thobe/ who will come, he will get.

/i hotE.mi na, dan nala thuk-phed/

This is the same fellow (who) met me yesterday.

/keñhin mo, siae/ whoever is born, will die surely.

### 4.0. ADJECTIVES

As in other languages, in Tod, too adjectives are the vocables which qualify a noun or intensify another adjective. Morphologically, those can be classified as pronominal and non-pronominal. The former (both possessive and demonstrative) are variable and the latter non-variable.

#### 4.1. Pronominal Adjective

Examples of this class of adjectives are:

- (1) Possessive pronominal adjectives /ne khənpa/ my house, /naze rama/ our goats, /khoe aco/ his brother, /khyoe noše/ your friend. /kho-be b'uca-'un/ their children.

#### 4.2. Demonstrative Pronominal Adjective

/i ta/ this horse, /te ta/ that horse. Moreover, adjectives belonging to this class can be termed as distinguishing too, which distinguish a thing or a person from other things or persons, i.e. in an utterance like /khoe ta/ 'his horse', the qualifier /khoe/ distinguishes the /ta/ 'horse' from other horses.

#### 4.3. Non-pronominal Adjective

The non-pronominal adjectives which either denote a quality such as good, bad, black, red etc, or quantity as enough, plenty, much or number as some, few, many, four, five etc., or



some state or condition, as sad, jolly, cold, hot, may be termed as describing one, because they simply describe the quantity, quality, state or number of the noun head they qualify. Morphologically they belong to non-variable class, *i.e.* are not inflected either for the number or the case form of the noun head qualified by them *e.g.* /thampo b'uca/ tall boy: /thampo b'uca-'un/ tall boys, /rumpo b'omo/ fat girl: /rumpo b'omo-'un/ fat girls. As such all grammatical categories in a noun phrase are carried by the noun head itself.

Some of the most frequently used adjectives belonging to this class are: /siri/ all, /gyala/ good, /səʔgpo/ bad, dirty, /kərpə/ white, /mərpə/ red, /serpə/ white, /nakphə/ black, /nənpə/ blue, green, /dān-mo/ cold, /čhante/ hot, /šante/ hard, /zampo/ soft, /narmo/ sweet, /khante/ bitter, /cuñ/ small, /riñ-mo/ long, /thompo/ tall, high, /məñ-po/ many, /ñon/ few, /išəb/ much, many, /cəmə/ how much, how many, /sañ-po/ clever, /šermo/ thin, /thumo/ thick, /chin-mo/ big, /'yañ-mo/ light in weight, /cinte/ heavy, /noñ-po/ sharp, /dəñ-po/ first, /'nis-pa/ second, /riʔpa/ weak, /glala/ pure, /zema/ other, /yoma/ left, /dugha/ deep, /thabdwī/ difficult, /dub dub/ blunt, /pukhəñ/ hairy, /le/ lazy, /zao/ lame, /zera/ blind, /zi khəñ/ square, /cur-cur/ pointed, /kərməɾ ser/ multi coloured, /rompo/~ /rumpo/ fat etc.

#### 4.4. Formation of Adjectives

Structurally, adjectives in Tod, may be grouped as Radical and Derived.

4.4.1. *Radical Adjectives*: The radical type of adjectives, belonging to this class, may be mono-morphemic or polymorphemic, are not explainable into their constituent elements, for in this case the second component has no separate meaning to convey. Normally, they are composed of a root and a formative suffix like *-mo*, *-po*, *-la* etc. as in /dān-mo/ cold, /məñ-po/ plenty, many, /riñ-mo/ long, /zam-po/ soft, /gya-la/ good, pure, /nak-po/ black. /riʔpa/ weak. /nis-pa/ second, Most of the adjectives of this class belong to adjectives of quality.

4.4.2. *Derived Adjectives*: Derived adjectives are polymorphemic only and are analysable into their componential elements. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

- (i) Root+khən: /pu-khən/ hairy, /zi-khən/ square, /machwe-khən/ unripe, /che-khən/ burnt, /ši-khən/ dead, /khol-khən/ boiled (most of these are participial qualifiers).
- (ii) Root+cən: /nor-eən/ possessor of wealth=wealthy, /rin-cən/ precious, etc.
- (iii) Reduplication of root: /dub-dub/ blunt, /cur-cur/ pointed, /cəl-eəl/ round (small); /jəljəl/ round (big.).
- (iv) /Root+po: /səh-po/ clever, /gyog-po/ rough, rude. /kar-po/ white, /nak-po/ black.

#### 4.5. Placement of Adjectives

In it, contrary to Tibeto-Burman pattern to which this language belongs, modifiers precede the noun head modified by them, as in /ne cici kusu zoemən/ I ate an apple; /iru yoñde minda cyəla toemən/. Having gone there we saw many things, /i ne aco hin/ this fellow is my elder brother, though in some cases the Tibetan pattern too is attested, as in /buʔala zipi ni to/ there are two birds on the tree, /i lu siri mohəne hina/ all these goats are of Mohan, /na ɖaba siri khyola ten/ I shall hand over all the money to you, /khi nakpo/=dog black, /khi nakpo ci/=dog black one, /khi ci can nak/ dog a very dark, /ta karpō/=horse white, /ta caŋker/ completely white horse.

In a noun phrase containing more than one modifier, the order of different classes of modifiers is like this: (1) a numeral modifier precedes other modifiers, as in /cici g'epo mi/ an old man, /cici cūzi zipa/ a small bird.

In case of more than one qualitative modifiers, specificatory modifiers always precede the general modifiers as in,

/cici s̥mdəl riŋmo g'epo mi/ an old man with a long beard,  
/ici karmo s̥mdəl riŋmo, godol g'epo mi/ an old man with  
white beard and bald headed.

In all cases an intensifier precedes a modifier, as in /siri  
godol/ completely bald headed, /minḁa ṇḁicān/ very intelligent,  
very efficient, /minḁa g'yala/ very good, perfectly right. But  
when used predicatively than the order is changed, as in /khi  
napko ci/ dog black one, /khi ci chemo napko/ dog one big  
black, /ta karmo ṇuṇ ṇuṇ/ horse white a little.

Adjectives can be used as part of predicate as well, as in  
/i tu g'yala dug/ this boy is a nice one, /te ta marpo to?/ that  
horse is red one.

Besides, adjectives can be used as a noun as well.

/te m̥rpo to/ that is red one, /i khyolōṇ to/ this fellow is a  
young one.

#### 4.6. Degrees of Comparison

The system of indicating degrees of qualities is simple and  
non-flectional. It is usually denoted with the help of /saṇ/  
'than' added to the noun or pronoun with which comparison  
is intended. Thus the order of words in this construction is—  
the comparable item + the item with which comparison is to be  
made + genitive/ dative suffix + saṇ:

/čheriṇ ṇerāṇṇe saṇ riṇ-mo duk/ Tshering is taller to me.

/kho khyoraṇṇe saṇ cuṇ-mo du/ he is younger to you.

/kho buca siri saṇ saṇ-po duk/ he is the cleverest of all the  
boys.

/ṇe aco ṇe aci saṇ riṇmo 'yod/ my brother is taller to my  
sister.

The comparison of more than two, i.e., superlative degree is  
affected with the use of /minḁe/ 'of all':

/yulde minḁe chemno dug/ the village is the biggest of all.

/mi de minḁe rumpo dug/ This man is fattest of all.

## 5.0. NUMERALS

Numerals in Tod have a dual character. These can occur both attributively and predicatively. When occurring attributively these occupy the place of attributive adjectives and when occurring predicatively these form the part of the predicate, e.g. /cici g'epo mi/ an old man, but /khi nakpo ci/ a black dog (lit. dog black one). As an attribute of a noun head these form a sub-category of adjectives, called numeral adjectives. The formal sub-classes of this class of adjectives are cardinals, ordinals, fractionals and aggregatives.

## 5.1. Cardinals

The commonly used forms of cardinal numerals from 1 to 20 are as follows:

/cik/ one, /ni/ two, /sum/ three, /zi/ four, /na/ five, /tuk/ six, /dun/ seven, /gye/ eight, /gu/ nine, /ču/ ten, /čoši/ eleven, /čuni/ twelve, /čosum/ thirteen, /čubži/ fourteen, /čoņa/ fifteen, /čuru/ sixteen, /čub-dun/ seventeen, /čob-gye/ eighteen, /čurgu/ nineteen, /nišu/ twenty.

From the above it is evident that forms of the numerals from one to ten are monomorphemic and from eleven to twenty polymorphemic which are formed by combining the appropriate allomorphs for the term of 'ten' as its first component and of those of one to nine as the second component, but in the case of 'twenty' the order of the components is reversed *i.e.* it becomes two+ten.

In these forms the notable morphophonemic changes are that the morpheme /ču/ is re-written as /co/ before the components /-ši/, /-sum/, /-na/ and /-gye/ and the second components are re-written as /cik/→/ši/, /zi/→/bži/, /tuk/→/ru/, /dun/→/bdun/, /gye/→/bgye/ /gu/→/rgu/: /cu/→/šu/.

Like other languages of Tibetan group, it follows the decimal system of counting. Consequently, numerals above ten

are formed by compounding the terms from one to nine to terms for 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90. Moreover, in this system the terms for the decades of 20, 30, etc. too are formed by combining the terms for numerals 2-9 and for 10 as the first and the second components of them, e.g. /ni-ču/ → /nišu/ 20, /sum-ču/ 30, /zi-bču/ 40, /n̄ð-bcu/ 50, /tuk-cu/ → /d̄ok-ču/ 60, /dun-ču/ 70, /gye-ču/ 80, /gu-bču/ 90. The term for 100 is /gya/.

The numerals, indicative of different decades further undergo various types of morphophonemic changes when combined with numerals from 1-9 to form the series of respective decades. In this a full syllable, representing the initial sound of the term for the decade concerned, is infixed between the full term for the decade and the term for the succeeding numeral, except in the series of twenty and sixty. This may be illustrated by the following table:

nišu	20	d̄ogcu	60
nišu sa šik	21	„ rašik	61
„ sañi	22	„ rañi	62
„ sergu	29	„ rergu	69
sumcu	30	dunču	70
sumcu sošik	31	dwenšik	71
„ sorgu	39	dwoñni	72
zibcu	40	dworgu	79
„ zašik	41	gyecu	80
„ zañi	42	„ gyašik	81
„ zergu	49	„ gyañi	82
n̄ðbcu	50	„ gyergu	89
„ našik	51	gubcu	90
„ nañi	52	„ gošik	91
„ nergu	59	„ goргу	99

In the above constructions morphophonemic replacements in the series of twenty and sixty are notable. Besides, the change of the low back vowel /a/ to the mid front vowel /e/ before the term /rgu/ is also notable. In literacy works the term /šik/ for 'one' is replaced by the term /čik/ as well, e.g. /šer cik/ twenty one, /sumcusočik/ thirty one, etc.

Numerals for hundred series are formed by using the term for 1-9 followed by the term for hundred, viz. /gya/ e.g. /sum gya/ 300, /nəbgya/ 500, /dungya/ 700.

Numerals above the series of hundred figures are formed by adding the specific numeral to the specific hundred numeral, joined by the additive particle /dən/, as in /gya dən cik/ 101, /gyadən na/ 105, /sum gya dən dun/ 307, etc.

Higher numeral terms like thousand, ten thousand, and lakh are seldom needed by common folk. In case of necessity, either the Tibetan terms *ton*, *thi*, *bum* or the I.A. terms *həzar* and *lakh* are used.

## 5.2. Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by suffixing the formative particles /pa~po~pha/ with specific numerals. The allomorph /-po/ is attested with /taŋ/ as in /taŋ-po/ 1st, and the /pha/ with /ni/, as in /ni-pha/ 2nd and the /pa/ with all others, as in /sum-pa/ 3rd, /zi-pa/ 4th, /na-pa/ 5th, /tuk-pa/ 6th etc.

## 5.3. Aggregatives

This class of numerals denotes the number of persons or things together or collectively. In Tod, the aggregatives are formed by suffixing a formative particle /koʔd/ to the numeral in question; e.g. /ni-koʔd/ both, /sum-koʔd/ all the three, /zi-koʔd/ all the four, /na-koʔd/ all the five, etc.

## 5.4. Fractionals

The commonly used fractional in Tod is—/pheka/ half, others are formed by prefixing the term for half, viz. /phetaŋ/ = /phed + dən/ 'half and' to the next higher numeral to indicate the sense of full and half of the immediately lower numeral,

as in /phetan-ni/ one and a half. (lit. half less two), /phetan-sum/ two and a half (lit. half less three) etc. There are no native terms for 'a quarter' or 'one and a quarter', 'three fourths' etc. If at all necessary, borrowed terms from I.A. dialects are used for them.

## 6.0. VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of Tod is quite simple. For, the verb roots attest minimum inflection for numbers and persons in various tenses and moods. There are hardly any derived roots. All verb roots, transitive or intransitive are primary ones. The most distinguishing feature of the transitive verb is this that the subject of this class of verbs is invariably placed in the ergative case, whereas that of the transitive verb, is placed in the nominative/direct case. Some transitive verbs may require double objects, direct and indirect, such as 'to give', 'to tell', 'to ask', etc.

Besides simple transitive or intransitive verbs, there may be a few verbs which are called verbs of incomplete predication, *i.e.* requiring a predicative word, usually a noun or adjective for completing the sense indicated by the verb form, as in /ne aco zu hin/ my brother is ill, /khola cici khi to/ he has a dog.

### 6.1. Transitivity

As in other languages of this group, in this too, there is no inbuilt system of deriving transitive stems from intransitives or vice-versa by modifying their forms, as we find in Indo-Aryan languages. There all the verb roots are radical, *i.e.* it is either transitive or intransitive with distinct roots, *e.g.* /šice/ to die: /sece/ to kill, /chace/ to be broken: /cakce/ to break; /serce/ to arise, /dice/ to ask, /rece/ to beg, /tace/ to see, /sace/ to burn, /chace/ to go, /thobce/ to get, etc. /tace/ to see: /tonce/ to show /co?kce/ to wash: /ca?kce/ to make to wash, /nance/ to listen: /sece/ to narrate.

### 6.2. Compound Verbs

Normally, languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour the use of compound verbs. But the number of the

constituents of this type of compounds is not more than two. In this case the first one is the main and the other subsidiary. The main verb is usually in the root form or the participle form and the grammatical categories are carried by the subsidiary. In Tod the most commonly used aux. verbs are—/chace/ to go, /tance/ to give, /coce/ to do, and various forms of the verb substantives. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

/kho nuru-phen/ he wept=he started weeping.

/na sil-char/ I have finished reading (=Hindi--*pḍṛh cuka*)

/kho sil-char to/ he has finished reading.

/ne homo srik thun ten/ I shall drink all milk.

(=Hindi—*pi ja ū nga*, but in Tod—*pi dūga*)

/khoe peca srik sil soñ/ he read the whole book (=Hindi—*pḍṛh gḍya*).

/naze narere lekha coe char/ we have done our work=.

(*kḍr gḍye* =Hindi—*kḍr liya hḍi*)

/kho naze la toe de god-so-soñ/ he laughed on seeing us

(=Hindi *dekh kḍr hḍs pḍra*).

/tuse selgo coksoñ/ the child broke the mirror

(lit. *tor gḍya*=Hindi=*tor ḍala hḍi*).

/kho zḍinka detu/ he is in the habit of eating.

(=Hindi—*khata rḥta hḍi*).

/na zuse ṣeṣ rak/ I am dying with pain.

/nen then coede sil/ study with attention

(=*dhyān dekḍr pḍrho*).

/raṣ lekha coen coe/ go on doing your work.

/na lañ chḍkḍn/ I shall go (=cḍla *jaṁga*).

/khḍḍpani cici phḍri khurdo-soñ/ bring a blanket from home. (=bring=Hindi *lete ana*).



### 6.3. Verbs Compounded with Nouns and Adjectives

The device of combining certain nouns or adjectives to certain verb stems, to express a single verbal idea is not wanting in Tod, e.g. /moemo tace/ to abuse (lit. to give abuse), /šro kholce/ to be angry, /phu-cece/ to blow, /zace-coce/ to cook (lit. meal make). In this type of constructions the nouns or adjectives when combined with a verb forgo their independent existence and become a part of the verb. They have, consequently, no grammatical relation with any other word in the sentence, as in /khoe nala moemo tãñ/ he abuses me (=lit. gives me abuse).

The verbs most frequently combining with a noun or adjective are—/tance/ to give, and /coce/ to make, to do. There may be a few more such as /cece/, /kholce/ etc.

### 6.4. Verbal Conjugation

In Tod a verb may be conjugated for the grammatical categories of a person, number, tense, mood, and aspect. Normally, a verb in these languages is not conjugated for voice categories, in colloquial speech there being no structural change for the passive or impersonal voice. However, besides the above, a verb may undergo structural changes for negative sub-system, though limited to a few tenses and moods only, which will be discussed in relevant sections ahead.

From the point of temporal conjugation Tod attests a three way distinction, viz. present, past and future and from the point of aspect (i.e. denotation of nature of action) the verb forms in it show a clear distinction between perfect and non-perfect. But no such a clear distinction exists between progressive and non-progressive aspects. Although literal rendering of a progressive aspect of a linguistic piece of other languages is possible, yet in a colloquial speech this language, normally, does not make any distinction between progressive and non-progressive aspects, i.e. both are expressed by their non-progressive forms in all the tenses, e.g. /kho zaru?/ means both, he eats/ is eating', /khoe zaro-phen/ he ate/ was eating, but /khoe zoe-dok/ he had eaten.

6.4.1. *Tenses*: As stated above in Tod a verb can be inflected for three tenses, viz. (1) present, representing the act presently going on, or as habitual action or expression of a universal truth, (2) past, representing some act taking place in the past or going on at a particular point of time in the past, (3) future, representing an action or state that has yet to take place or to come into being.

## 6.5. Mechanism of Tense Formation

In a verbal conjugation various temporal categories are obtained by means of temporal affixes which sometimes incorporate the number and person markers as well. As such the usual order of various constituents of a finite verb form is root + tense marker + person and number suffixes.

In principle, though a verbal stem is expected to be inflected for 6 forms (*i.e.* 3 persons  $\times$  2 numbers), yet in actual usage a formal distinction is available for 2 forms (*i.e.* first and non-first singular) only in the non-future tenses. In future tense this distinction is, however, foregone in favour of a single form.

6.5.1. *Person-number suffixes*: As pointed out above, in Tod, a verb is not inflected for numbers. These, however, do take suffixes for first and non-first person in non-future tenses. The semantic connotation of person and number is determined by the subject of the verb form in question.

## 6.6. Affirmative Sub-system

All categories of verb attest inflection for affirmative sub-system in it. These may be presented as follows:

6.6.1. *Verb substantive*: Tod employs as many as six verb roots to serve the purpose of the verb substantive. They are /hin~yin/, /yod-/, /duk/, /ra/, /hi-na-/~na/, /to/.

These equational verb form act as copulative verb roots as well. Some of these occur in complementary distribution, but others seem to occur in free variation.

Verb root /hin~yin/ conveys somewhat definitive or assertive sense, whereas /na/ an observed sense. *e.g.* /ʈu hin/ it is a boy (not girl), but /i buca'un na/ these are boys (a general statement), /khyot su hin/ who are you?, /ñaza lahula hin/ we are Lahulas.

/to/, /na/, /duk/ seem to occur in free variation, as in

/te ta marpo to~na~duk/ that horse is red;

/i ʈu khyōtoñ duk/ this boy is young, /ram g'yala ʈu to~duk/ Ram is a good boy, /i hote mi na/ it is the same man.

The verb stem /yot/ gives the sense of existence 'to become' as well as that of 'has/have' as in /khəñparu su yot/ who is at home/ in the house? It is equivalent to Hindi *hota hōi*. /ñala lug' gya yot/ I have 100 sheep, but at the same time we also get/ khola cici khi to~duk/ he has a dog; /khyoe aco gāru yo?/ where is your brother? As such, there is a fluidity in there use.

Besides, the verb root /yot/ has a dual character, *i.e.* it can occur as verb substantive as well as an auxiliary: /ña i phəl ʈu tā:yo?/ I give/am giving this fruit to the child, /ña i hige acola diē yo?/ I am writing this letter to the brother.

As an auxiliary it also conveys that type of perfective aspect as is conveyed by the English verb has/have, *e.g.* /ña ñalde yot/ I have gone to sleep, /buṭa khala zipa tededuk/ that bird is seated on the tree, /ña khyo nāmpo sokholde yo?/ I am not happy with you.

Like the verb stem /yot/, verb substantives /to/ and /duk/ too are used as auxiliaries, as in /kho phəl zace khəm-duk/ he wants to eat fruit, /kho iru yonce khəm-duk/ he wants to come here, /khoi ʒa kore nanla tug-ta/ he is pouring tea in the cup, /kho thankaru ñalcharto/ he has slept on the ground.

Occurrence of /rak/ as an auxiliary is attested in the following utterances with the 1st person: /ña ñalce khəm-rak/ I want to sleep, /ña khəñpala chace khəm-rak/ I want to go towards home, otherwise cf. /kho iru yonce khəmduk/ he wants to come here. It is also attested as /ro/ in present indefinite verb forms, as in /zaro/ he eats/ is eating, they eat. /zero/ he/ says

they say, /charo/ he goes, they go, /coro/ he does/ they do, /nala zu rak/ I am ill.

Forms of these verb substantives obtained for various tenses and persons may be presented as under:

(i) *Present tense*: All persons and numbers: /yin~hin/, /ta/, /duk/, /yo?/, /na~hina/, /ra/ (for examples see above).

(ii) *Past tense*: All persons and numbers: /duk/, /yotten/~ /yot-phen/

/deru su duk/ who was/were there?

/khyot dañ gāru yotten/ where were you yesterday?

/na dañ ɬomparu yotten/yotphen/ I was in the village yesterday. (In these *yotten* is perhaps=has/had gone).

/deru buriñmo duk/ there was a snake.

In the future tense no uses of any verb substantives could be obtained in the present data.

## 6.7. Temporal Conjugation

All transitive and intransitive verb roots can be inflected for various temporal and non-temporal categories, but in a colloquial speech there is no strict adherence to the distinctive use of present and future, progressive and non-progressive or perfect and non-perfective forms. In a non-formal speech these are freely used for one another, consequently, in the present and past tense forms no distinction is made between indefinite and continuous tense forms. Indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous or habitual tense forms as well. However, various forms of temporal conjugation in the indicative mood of this language may be presented as under:

6.7.1. *Present tense*: Various tense forms of the present are obtained as under:

(i) *Present Indefinite*: The inflectional base of the present indefinite representing the action going on or a habitual action or a universal truth, or making a query about an action etc. is

the bare root itself, and the inflected forms for the 1st and the non-first persons are obtained either by affixing /-a/, with an automatic inglide /-y-/ as in /chaya/ you go/are going, as in /khyo gāla chaya/ where are you going? /zaya/ he eats/ is eating, /khyot ci zaya/ what are you eating? or by adding appropriate form of one of the verb substantive to the root of the principal verb:

/kho zaro/ he eats/ is eating.

/ña silyot/ I am reading.

/kho gotuk/ he laughs/ is laughing.

/ña ʈu-la phəl tañyot/ I give/am giving fruit to the child.

/khoe siri charo?/ they all go/are going.

/kho lekha coro?/ he works/ is doing work.

/kho zace tanduk/ he feeds (lit. gives food).

/kho yoñduk/ he comes/ is coming.

As stated above, in it the verb is not inflected for number. In person too the distinction is attested with regard to first and non-first persons only. That too is not very clear. Similarly, the distributional aspect of the employment of various roots of verb substantives, as auxiliaries too is not very clear. It needs a further, detailed exploration of the data. As such in the absence of formal concord of the verb form, its number and person is distinguishable from the number and person of its subject alone.

(2) *Present Continuous*: Normally, the speakers of Tod do not make any distinction between present indefinite and present continuous, but if absolutely necessary, it can be expressed with the help of an auxiliary added to the conjunctive participle form of the principal verb, e.g. /ña lur 'yan-te yot/ I am listening to a song, /ña i hige aco la ñie yot/ I am writing this letter to my elder brother. Also /kho turtecini gotopen/ he is laughing for a long time, /kho ñal du/ he is sleeping.

(3) *Present Perfect*: Present perfect is not a separate conjugational category in Tod. It is expressed either by adding

respective forms of the verb 'to be' to the conjunctive participle form of the principal verb, as we see in the case of present continuous or by simple past tense, e.g.

/ña khoe philla tibi khyonde yot/ I have brought a cap for him, /ña ñalde yot/ I have gone to sleep; or by a perfective marker /char/ (may be from the verb /chace/ to go), as in /khoe peca sirik sil char~sil charto/ he has read the whole book, /ñaza ñazere lekha coe char/ we have done our work; or sometimes it may be expressed by past tense forms as well, as in /khoe peca sirik silsoñ/ he has read the whole book. Moreover, Tod hardly makes any difference between present perfect and immediate past. Both are effected by adding relevant forms of the verb substantive to the absolutive or past tense form of the principal verb:

/khoe zoe duk/ he ate/ has eaten.

/ña yona yo?/ I came/ have come.

/ñarañcho yona yo?/ we have come/ we came.

/kho soñ-do?/ he went/ has gone.

/kho buṭae sille ñaldedu?/ he is slept under the tree.

(4) *Universal and habitual present*: There is no separate conjugation for universal or habitual present. They are expressed by indicative present itself.

/ñima serni saro?/ the sun rises in the east.

/dar chen-la lemu?/ the moon shines in the night.

/chu?yola gyugduk/ water flows down wards.

/kho syatañ zathañ iru yuwayo?/ he comes here daily.

6.7.2. *Past tense*: Although in the colloquial speech no clear distinction is maintained among various tense aspects of the past, yet formally a verb can be conjugated for indicative, perfect, continuous and habitual aspects of it.

(i) *Past indefinite*: Indefinite past which indicates some action either going on or done in the past is expressed in three ways in the colloquial speech,

(1) by using bare verb stem, as in

/khoe tañ, ne thuñ/ he gave (and) I drank.

/khoe ñala zace tañ/ he gave us for eating.

(2) by employing present indefinite forms:

/khoe ñiro/ he said/told.

/khyola suisi zero/ to whom did you tell?

/khoe ñala yonçe philla zero/ he asked us to come.

(b) by adding the past [marker-*phen* to simple past tense forms:

/khoe zaro-phen/ he ate.

/ña soñ-phen/ I went.

/ne thuñ-phen/ I drank.

/kho ñuro-phen/ She started weeping/ she wept.

Besides the simple past Tod has two other forms of past which besides indicating the past tense also emphasise the completion of the action or of which the speaker has a definite and direct knowledge. This is effected by adding /-soñ/ and /-men/ to the stem of the verb. Distributionally, the allomorph /-soñ/ is affixed for non-first person and /men/ for 1st personal (-*men* is also attested as -*mñ* in dialectal variation).

/kho zer-soñ/ he said.

/nu zer-men/ I said.

/khoe ñae cici philla tibi khyoñ-soñ/.

he brought a cap for me.

/ña khyot philla cici tibi khyonmen/

I have brought a cap for you.

/kho duñ iru 'yoñsoñ/ she came here yesterday.

/ne ðañ cici kuñu cemen/ I plucked an apple yesterday.

/kho ðE ðE tð zerson/ he spoke while he was sitting.

/silen silen ñalson/ he slept while he was reading.

The past tense marker suffixes /-soṅ/ and /men/ or /-phen/ are also added to the conjunctive participle base of the verb:

/khoe coe-soṅ, naze zoe-phen/

he cooked and we ate.

/kho khyo toe-soṅ/ he saw you.

/ñe toe-men/ I saw.

/khò coe-soṅ/ he did

/ñe coe-men/ I did

(2) *Past perfect*: In Tod the past perfect is identical with immediate past in which the completion of the action in question is reported by the speaker from his personal knowledge. It is effected either by employment of completion marker verb stems like *-taṅ*, *char*-etc, followed by relevant forms of the verb substantives or by simple past tense forms indicative of completion of the action.

/khoe zoe taṅ du?/ he had eaten (Hindi *-kha cuka tha*).

/kho soṅ char do?/ he had gone (Hindi *-ja cuka tha*).

/silchar/ has/have read, /coe char/ has/have done.

(*kḍr liya hḍi*), /khyo len gāla soṅ-mḍn/ where had you gone just now, /khoba daṅ iru'yoṅ soṅ/ they had come here yesterday, /ña 'yoṅ mḍn/ I had gone (Hindi *-cḍla gḍya tha*).

/kho syorsoṅ/ he had run away (H. *bhag gḍya tha*).

/khoe thuṅ-soṅ/ he had drunk (H. *Pi cuka tha*).

(3) *Habitual past*: Habitual past is identical with past continuous. It is effected by adding /-ten/ to the participle base of the verb, or by simple past forms.

/naza zakthaṅ iru 'yoá-ten/

we used to come/ were coming here daily.

/khoe coe-soṅ, naze zoe-phen/ he went on cooking (and)

we went on eating.



6.7.3. *Future tense*: It has been noticed that in a colloquial speech the bare stem also serves the purpose of the future tense with first person subjects, as in /*na~naza yon*/ I, we will come etc.

But there are future formative suffixes as well, which are regularly affixed to verbal stems to obtain future tense forms of these verbs. Various allomorphs of the future formative suffix in Tod are /*ken-*, *-en*, *-n*, *-na*/, but their distribution is not very clear. Among these three, the suffix- /*kən*/ or /*-ken*/ has been attested with 1st person subjects only, as in

/*na iru taken*/ I shall remain at this very place.

/*na khyoza 'yoŋce sən mulla laŋ chekən*/

I shall have left this place before you reach here.

but in sentences as given below the future form /*chekən*/ has been attested as /*chen*/ as well.

/*naza chen*/ we will go < /*chace*/ to go.

/*khyoraŋ zoete chen*/ he (hon.) will go after taking meals.

/*na ten*/ I will give < /*taŋce*/ to give.

/*khyoe nala ci ten*/ what will you give me?

/*khyoe nala giru thun*/ where will you meet me? < /*thuce*/ to meet.

/*na suppoŋhi te 'yuen*/ I shall come after taking bath < /*yoŋce*/.

/*khyo nəm 'yuen*/ when will you come?

/*na tiru'yoŋde zeten*/ I shall tell having come there < /*zerce*/. but the forms /*'yuen*/ and /*chen*/ are also attested as

/*'yuana*/ and /*chana*/ in the following sentences:

/*kho khəŋpa la chana*/ he will go home.

/*kho nəm yuana*/ when will he come?

Similarly, /*zana*/ will eat < /*zace*/ to eat, /*thuna*/ will drink < /*thuŋce*/ to drink, /*ŋalna*/ will sleep /*ŋalce*/ to sleep.

In some cases future is also formed with the help of the auxiliary /ten/:

/na tiru yon̄de zeten/ I shall tell (you) after having come there~ /na teru yon̄de seten/ I shall explain after having come there.

### 6.8. Models of Conjugation

*yoñce* 'to come'

*Present tense*

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
3rd person	yon̄du	yon̄du
2nd person	"	"
1st person	yuāyo?/yonayo?	yuāyo?/yonayo?

*Past tense*

3rd person	yoñsoñ/-phen	yoñ-phen/yonsoñ
2nd person	yoñsoñ/-phen	yonsoñ/-phen
1st person	yoñmen/-phen	

*Past perfect:* /yoñsoñ/ in all persons and numbers.

*Future:* (All persons and numbers).

yuana/yuen/yon.

*Imp.* (2nd) yoñ/yo.

*Chace* 'to go'

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Present</i>		
3rd person	charo?	charo?
2nd person	"	"
1st person	chayo?	chayo?
<i>Past tense</i>		
3rd person	soñ-do	soñ-do
2nd person	"	"
1st person	soñ-phen	soñ-phen
<i>Honorific</i>	khyot charto/ phepcharto	

**Perfect (all persons & numbers)**

soñ chardo~soñ mên

**Future**

3rd person	chana/chen	chana./chen
2nd person	„ „	„ „
2nd person (Hon.)	phepphena	phepphena
1st „	chakðn/chen	chakðn/ chen
Imp. (2nd)	Soñ	

zace 'to eat'

<b>Present tense</b>	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
3rd person	zaro?	zaro?
2nd person	„	„
1st person	zayo?	zayo?

**Past tense (observed)**

3rd person	zaro-phen	zaro-phen
2nd person	„ „	„ „
1st person	„ /zoemðn	„ /zoemðn

**Past tense (Reported)**

3rd person	zoedok	zoedok
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**Perfect: (All persons and numbers)**

zoe-tañ-dok

**Future tense**

3rd person	za:na	za:na
2nd person	„	„
1st person	„	„
Imp. 2nd person	zo	zo

*Thun̄ce* 'to drink'

<i>Present tense</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
3rd person	thūndo	thūndo
2nd person	„	„
1st person	thūāyo?	thūāyo?
<i>Past tense</i>		
3rd person	thūnson	thūnson
2nd person	„	„
1st person	thūnphen	thūn-phen
<i>Future tense</i>		
3rd person	thūna:na	thūna: na
2nd person	„	„
1st person	„	„
<i>Imp. (2nd person)</i>	thūn.	

**6.9. Moods and Aspects**

Modal conjugation deals with the inflectional forms of a verb indicating the manner of the action, whether it just happened, or is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition etc. Tibeto-Himalayan languages, generally, attest three moods, viz. Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further division and sub-divisions. The forms and functions of the indicative mood have already been discussed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the question of explaining various forms and functions of the Imperative and Subjunctive moods in that order:

6.9.1. *Imperative mood*: Imperative mood is a form of verb expressing an action as a command, a request, a warning, prohibition, entreat etc. In this type of expressions the subject is the second person pronoun, honorific or non-honorific, and is usually left out. By its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such it is restricted to the present and future only.

In Tod imperative forms are not marked for number, though these do are marked for honorific and non-honorific, employing distinct roots for both. Basically, the verb stem itself is employed to serve the purpose of it, but in many cases, besides certain morphophonemic changes, the phenomenon of suppletivism also takes place. The most notable morphophonemic changes is the change of stem vowel /ə~a/ to /o/, as in /-za-/ to eat→/zo/ eat, /tañ-/ to give→/ton/ give, etc. and the phenomenon of suppletivism is particularly noticeable in /cha/ to go→/soñ/ go. However, the morphophonemic change or suppletivism do not take place when it is preceded by the negative particle /mð/, as in /zo/ eat, but /mðza/ don't eat, /soñ/ go: /mðcha/ don't go. Some of the examples of imperative usage are as under:

/khola mul ču toñ/ give him ten rupees.

/thero soñ/ go there (non. hon.) /there phep/ (hon.)

/oma thuñ/ drink milk (non. hon.) /omoi doñ/ (hon.)

/i phðl zo/ eat this fruit, but /mðza/ don't eat.

/khyorañ zace zoete soñ/ go after taking meals (fut.)

/ña 'yon 'yon iru tod~dog/ stay here till I come.

'khənpala soñ/ go home: /khənpala mðcha/ don't go home.

/iru 'yonde tod/ sit down, having come here.

/i chu toemo-la top-toñ/ pour it in hot water:

Another notable feature with regard to imperative in Tod is this that in it there is no distinct future imperative as we find in Hindi forms like *khakðr juna*, *lete ana* etc. employing the action in future time. It is expressed as present imperative, e.g. /khənpaŋi cici phoñ khurde soñ/ bring a blanket from home.

**6.9.1.1. Prohibitive imperative:** In Tod the prohibitive particle is identical with negative particle as such it does not make any distinction between the two (for examples see above).

6.9.2. *Subjunctive Mood*: The subjunctive mood and its various forms used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker, such as wish, hope, requirement, possibility, probability, presumption, ability, compulsion, permission, certainty, necessity, advice, obligation, benediction, condition etc. For a broader analysis all these may be grouped into 4 groups, viz. (1) Optative, (2) Potential, (3) Presumptive, (4) Contingent. These may be illustrated as follows:

(i) *Optative*: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, requirements, purpose, or a supposition, a possibility almost always with an implied reference to future.

/khoran khānpala cha gwelā na/ he ought to go home.

/ne kho iru 'yonna sāmāra/ I want that he should come here.

/cise phitog lepkhyoena/ he may come by the evening.

/na khyoe nampo 'yapo~yoncea/ may I accompany you?

(ii) *Advisability*: The sense of advisability is also expressed by the verb form /kose-na/ combined with the stem of the main verb:

/ne talyeni khyoran cha-kose-na/ In my opinion, you should go.

/khoi zero, i lekha coe kose-na/ he said, this work should be done.

The verb /kose-na/ also expresses the sense of compulsion:

/khoran chana machana na cha-kose-na/ whether you go or not, I will have to go.

(iii) *Potential*: These forms denote, mainly, possibility of the occurrence of an action with reference to the present or past. These are formed by combining present participle to the main verb and future tense forms of the verb /yod/ to be.

/cisi kho lebdi metowa/ he may have reached.

/cisi simla khata yoṭ to?/ possibly snow has fallen in Simla.

/cici khyoi i peca silde 'yoṭ to/ you may have read this book.

(iv) *Contingent*: These forms denote, mainly, a condition which is contrary to fact. These may also express a wish which cannot be fulfilled.

/khyo silphene, phel soñde meto/  
had you studied, you would not have failed.  
/nenthen la khorāñ'yo? phene minḁe gyalā/  
had he come here, so nice it would have been.

(v) *Presumptive*: These forms express possibility or presumed/ inferred certainty. These are formed by combining the participle or conjunctive forms to the main verb with future tense forms of /yod/.

/kho 'yoā yoṭṭo/ he must be coming.  
/kho khyoe tata thoñde 'yoṭṭo/ he must have seen you.  
/kho izo la zoe charde yoṭṭo/ he must have eaten by now.

(vi) *Compulsive*: The compulsive aspect of a statement is expressed by combining the infinitive form of the main verb with the respective tense forms of the verb substantive /yin~hin/:

/ña thore simla la chace hin/  
I have to go to Simla tomorrow.  
/khoi ne ḁaba tañce hin/ he has to give my money.  
/khyorañ tiriñ phitog ṇaze khḁṇpala soñ/  
you have to come to our house today evening.

(vii) *Suggestive*: Polite command: future suggestive or an advice is expressed by simple imperative forms.

/khyorañ zace zoete soñ/ (I suggest that) you should go after taking meals.

(viii) *Desiderative*: The desiderative aspect is expressed with the verb /khḁm-/ added to the infinitive form of the main verb:

/ña cize toñce khḁmra/ I wish to give something.  
/khoe ṇala ṣece khḁmdo?/ he wants to narrate to me.  
/ña hige ṣik ḁice khḁmra/ I want to write a letter.

(ix) *Abilitative*: The ability or inability of the doer in respect of the performance of an action is expressed with the verb. /khyuce/ 'can', combined with the stem of the main verb:

/ca chante ne thun khyuce mera/ I cannot drink hot tea.

/na za khyuce me-rak/ I cannot eat.

#### 6.10. Negative Sub-system

The negative sub-system in Tod is somewhat different from the affirmative sub-system. In this, notable structural changes are noticeable with regard to the forms of the verb substantives or the future tense. The presence of the negative particle, also brings about certain structural change in verb forms in imperative mood. These features of this system may be illustrated by the following examples:

(i) *Verb substantive*: Various stems of verb substantives attest two types of structural changes in negative construction

(i) stems /to~dug/ or /yin~hin/ are changed into /māna/ /minu/:

/ram gyalā tu to~dug/ Ram is a good boy.

/ram gyalā tu~māna/ Ram is not a good boy.

/i khyoe aco hin/ this fellow is your brother.

/i khyoe aco māna/ this fellow is not your brother.

(ii) The change of /hin~yin/ or /yod/ is also attested /mino/~/minu/:

/te su hin-a?/ who is he?

/iru suṇṇ mino/ no body is here.

/i gyalā minu/ this is not good.

/kho iru yod/ he is here.

/kho iru mino/ he is not here.

(for imperative see above p. 319).

(2) *Placement*: From the point of placement, it has t



noted that the negative particle follows the verb, the action of which is negated:

/kho zaro/ he eats: /kho zaminu/ he does not eat.

(3) *Elision*: In periphrastic constructions, the verb substantive, when used as an auxiliary, tends to be elided in negative constructions:

/na sece thatə me/ I do not like dancing,  
lit. I to dance like not.

/khoe diro, lem chace gyala mino/ he said, it is not good to go just now.

(4) *Future finite*: In the future forms of a finite verb the structural change is noticeable in two ways, (i) by replacing the suffixal form by the verb stem, (2) by infixing the negative particle between the verb stem and the tense person marker suffix.

(i) /na khyo la lem chace ten/

I shall let you go just now.

/na khyo la lem chace metaṇ/

I shall not let you go just now.

(ii) /kho yuāna/ he will go.

/kho yuā-mə-na/ he will not go.

/kho khəṇpala cha-na/ he will go home.

/kho khəṇpala cha-mə-na/ he will not go home.

(5) *Past tense*: The phenomenon of infixation of the negative particle is also attested in past tense forms in which it is placed between the verb root and the past marker suffix, as in /khozaro-phen/ he ate: /kho zaminuphen/ he did not eat.

(6) *Present tense*: In present/past tense forms also the negative particle is infixated between the stem and the person tense marker suffix.

/khoi zero, na kho toede mənate khyuce-me-ra/

he said, I cannot live without seeing him.

/ña.khola zerce gyala.chor-me-ra/

I did not think it proper to tell him.

/kho zaro/ he is eating: /kho zaminu/ he is not eating.

/kho yoã/ he is coming: /kho yoã mnu/ he is not coming.

(7) *Imperative*: No change, whatsoever, is brought in by the use of the negative particle in the forms of the imperative mood, except in /za-/ eat, and /cha-/ go.

/khõnpa son/ go home.

/khõnpa mð son/ don't go home.

/zo/ eat: /mðza/ don't eat. /son/ go: /mðcha/ don't go.

/thuñ/ drink: /mðthuñ/ don't drink.

/iru yo/ come here: /iru mðyo/ don't come here.

#### 6.11. Causative Sub-system

Since 'causing something to be done' is done as an action which must be directed towards somebody, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. As stated earlier like other languages of this group, in this too, there is no inbuilt mechanism for causativization. Rather, there are distinct primary roots for all transitive or causative stems, e.g. /tace/ to see, /toñce/ to show, /co?ce/ to wash: /ca?kce/ to make to wash, /ñance/ to listen: /sece/ to tell, to narrate, /zace/ to eat: /tance/ to feed (lit. to give).

However, in case of necessity, a causative form can be obtained by appending respective forms of the verb /tañce/ 'to give' to the principal verb followed by the causative formative /-cuk-/: /co-ce/ to do: /co-cuk-tañce/ to make to do.

/ði-ce/ to write: /ði-cuk-tañce/ to make to write.

/sil-ce/ to read: /sil-cuk-tañce/ to teach.

/ñal-ce/ to sleep: /ñal-cuk-tañce/ to make to sleep.

/thuñ-ce/ to drink: /thuñ-cuk-tañce/ to make to drink.

/ñu-ce/ to weep: /ñu-cuk-tañce/ to make to weep.

/ðil-ce/ to fall: /ðil-cuk-tañce/ to fell, to make to fall.

However, there is no provision, whatsoever, for the construction of second causative as we find in Hindi terms like *likhwana* from *likhana* 'to make to write'. Causative verb has the same forms (voice and moods, etc) which it has as an ordinary transitive verb.

/khorē coru hōta/ he himself is doing the work.

/khorī zemola co-cuk-tānduk/ he is getting the work done.  
 (by others). /khoi hige thiru/ he is writing a letter.

/khoi hige ḍi-cuk tānduk/ he is getting a letter written.

/khoi peca siru/ he is reading a book.

/khoi peca sil-cuk-tānduk/ he is getting a book read.

## 6.12. Passive Sub-system

Passive voice represents that form of the verb in which the subject is not doer but as acted upon. As such in this type of constructions the grammatical subject is not the logical subject, i.e. the doer, but the logical object—the person or thing towards whom the action is directed, as in 'a fruit was eaten by me: Here *me* is the grammatical subject, but not the logical one. In view of this the passive voice is naturally restricted to transitive verbs.

But the languages of the Indo-Tibetan or Tibeto-Himalayan group do not favour passive constructions. In them the invariable use of the subject in the ergative case itself serves the purpose of passivization. e.g.

/ca chante ñe thuñ khyuce. me-rak/

hot tea cannot be drunk by me. (lit) I cannot drink hot tea.

/ña za khyuce-me-rak/ I cannot eat (even for passive).

## 6.13. Impersonal Constructions

Contrary to passive voice, the impersonal voice is restricted to intransitive verbs. It is always in the neutral construction,

as such the verb is always in the 3rd person singular number. For, it has either no subject at all, or if there is one it is represented as able or unable to perform the action denoted by the verb:

/ña ðul khyuce-me-rak~thuble me-rak/

I cannot walk (for 'walking cannot be done by me').

As such in these languages Hindi sentences like *mujh se cālā nāhī jata* (lit. it cannot be walked by me) will be rendered as *mē cāl nāhī sēkta* (I cannot walk).

#### 6.14. Verbal Derivatives

Besides the finite verb forms, forming the essential constituent of the predicate, and regularly taking the tense-person suffixes, there are some verb forms which are derived from verbal stems, but are not inflected for tense-person-number categories. These non-finite verb forms, on account of conveying an incomplete sense, do not serve independently as a predicate in a sentence. These are formed in the following manner:

6.14.1. *Infinitive*: "Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject." In Tod it is formed by adding /-ce/ to the verb root:

/ña ñalce khāmra/ I wish to sleep.

/ña khāñpa-la chace khāmra/ I wish to go home.

/kho iru yōñce khāmduk/ I want to come here.

/khoi ñe ðaba tañce hin/ he has to give money to me.

/ña silce loba yot/ I want to study.

6.14.2. *Infinitive as a verbal noun*: Infinitive forms are also used as a verbal noun:

/ña sece-la thatð iyo?/ I like playing/dancing.

/ña sece thatð me/ I don't like dancing.

/ñe kho chace thoñmen/ I saw him going.

/khoe ñala zace toñ/ he gave me for eating.

As a verbal noun it can also take a case marker:

/te tulce la minḁa kyophaṭu to?/ he is quite fast in walking.

/kho lece la minḁa ñḁicḁñ to?/ he is quite fast in weaving.

/yuñna itu cucela lamo dug/ these are easy to remember.

/ñaезesi khola lace philla zermen/ we asked him for sitting.

/khoe ñala yoñe philla zero/ he asked us for coming.

The infinitive, in spite of being a noun retains its verbal character and can, therefore, take an object.

/ña cize tañce khḁmra/ I want to give something.

/ña šinṭhok zace khḁmra/ I want to eat fruit.

/kho oma thuñce khḁmduk/ he want to drink milk.

6.14.3. *Participles*: Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun (or pronoun) but retaining some properties of the verbs. There are two kinds of participles in Tod, viz. present and past. But contrary to Indo-Aryan languages, the participles, in Tibeto-Himalayan languages, are not affected by the grammatical categories of the noun or pronoun which they qualify.

(a) *Present participle*: The present participle is formed by suffixing /-en/ to the verb root.

/ñe sārakten ta thoñmen/ I saw a running horse.

/kho silen silen ñalson/ She fell asleep while reading.

The concurrent action referred to by a participle form is expressed by simple verbal noun form as well

/ñe kho la khḁñpa-la chace thoñmen/

I saw him going towards home.

In this type of expressions it is used as part of the predicate, with an adverbial sense.

(b) *Past/perfect participle*: Like present participle, a past participle also can be used as an ordinary adjective to qualify

a noun. Contrary to the present participle, it indicates the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In Tod it is formed by suffixing /-kən/ to the conjunctive participle base, when used attributively.

/ne šidekən buriṇmo thonsoṇ/ I saw a dead snake.

/iru cici chadekən silgo to/ Here is a broken glass.

But, the sense of past participle is conveyed by conjunctive participle form or by independent forms when used predicatively:

/kho buṭe sille ṇalde do?/ he is slept under the tree.

/ne buṭani loma kēmpo čemen/

I plucked off dried leaves from the tree.

(c) *Conjunctive Participle*: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause, which contains it, remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. It is formed by adding the formative suffix /-de, -te/ to the stem of the verb. Normally, the allomorph /-de/ occurs with verbal stems, ending in a nasal or liquid and /-te/ elsewhere. But in dialectal variations occurrence of /-de/ with other forms than those noted above also has been attested.

/khyoraṇ zace zoete~zoedeson/</zace/ to eat.

you go after having taken meal.

/kho lem ṇal-te laṇsoṇ/</ṇalce/ to sleep

he having slept just got up.

/na tiru yonḍe zeten/</yonce/ to come

I shall tell having come (after coming) there.

/tiru soñ-de minḍa lekha coe men/ </chace/ >/soñ/ to go.  
having gone there, much work was done.

Similarly, /thuñ-de/ having drunk/ </thunçe/ to drink.

/sil-de/ having read </silcé/ to read.

/toede/ having seen </tace/ to see.

In case of uninterrupted sequential occurrence of two actions, too the former one is placed in the conjunctive participial form and the latter in the finite verb form:

/ña kho yon char-ne' yonmān/

I had come as soon as he came.

/kho ñala toe-te syor-soñ/

he had left immediately on seeing me/ as soon as saw me.

Similarly, in cases where a second action takes place while the action which took place earlier is just over or still continues, there too the conjunctive participial suffix is added to the verbal stem indicative of the earlier action:

/khoi dEdEtθ zaro/ he was eating while lying down.

/khoi dEdEtθ zerson/ he was speaking while seated.

In these constructions the literal meaning would be 'having sat down', etc.

## 7.0. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They all are termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as adverbs, particles, conjunctions, interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables, as attested in Tod, are as follows:

### 7.1. Adverb

Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time and manner of the action

referred to by the verb concerned. Syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in the string of components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject according to its semantic connotation. In case of more than one adverb the adverb of time precedes the adverb of place, as in /khyo lem gala soñmen/ where had you gone just now; /ña tiriñ khònpala chakòñ/ I will go home today; /kho lem iru 'yoñsoñ/ he had come here just now.

Semantically, all these verbal modifiers can be grouped as (1) spatial or adverbs of place and direction, (2) temporal or adverbs of time, (3) modal or adverbs of manner, (4) intensifiers or adverbs of degree. All classes of adverbs have basic and derived categories some of them which are commonly used in Tod may be presented as under:

7.1.1. *Adverb of place:* Adverb of place, in Tod, usually occur with accusative-locative markers added to demonstrative pronominal stems. The acc. marker *-la* indicates direction and the locative marker *-ru* location, e.g. /gāla~kāla/ means 'to which place' (=where) and /giru/ mean 'at which place': /khyotgāla charo/ where are you going? = to which place are you going?, but /khyot ñala giru thun/ where will you meet me = at which place' /khyot lem gāla soñmen/ where had you gone just now?, /kho lem iru khonsoñ/ she had come here just now. Other examples of this class of adverbs are:

/iru/ here, /teru/ there, /yola/ below, down, /doila/ by the side,

/phitala/ outside, /tholola/ up, above, /thilala/ under,

/gyòbla/ behind < /gyòb/ back; /yaru/ at this place,

/khòtola/ upward, /kòru/~ /gòru/ where.

Besides, there are a few more adverbs of place which do not follow the above mentioned pattern. They are /bar/ between, /tharing/ far, away, /ñemo/ near, /khònpae ñemo/ near the house. /siriteru/ every where.

7.1.2. *Adverb of time:* Like spatial adverbs, temporal adverbs also can be followed by the case suffix *-la*, as in /sip-



ci-la/ at once, /mul-la/ before, /phər-la/ ever, /bərbrər-la/ sometime.

The other temporal adverbs of Tod, which do not fall in any specific pattern are:

/dañ/ yesterday, /tiriñ/ today, /thore/ tomorrow, /lem/ now, /nəm/ when?, /chupa/ until, /ziñmece/ till, /yəñ/ again, twice, /nəm-yəñ/ never, /tence/ 'once, /zətəñ/ daily, /ñə-mo/ early, /detiñ/ after that, /charde/ as soon as came, /toete/ as soon as saw.

Besides the acc. loc. markers, the adverbs of place and time can also take the ablative marker, as in /kə:ni/ where from: /kho kəni yo-soñ/ where he is coming from?, /turleci-ni/ for a long time: /kho turleci ni gotop'en/ he is laughing for a long time, /gyəb-ni/ after, afterward, etc.

7.1.3. *Adverb of manner*: Like others, the adverbs of this class too, can take case suffixes, as in /sip-ci-la/ suddenly, at once, /tiñ-la/late, but there are other formatives as well, e.g. /tose/ 'like', which is suffixed to demonstrative adjectives/pronouns, as in /i tose/ like this, /de tose/~ /te tose/ like that. In some cases the mechanism of reduplication is also attested, as in /d'ɔl-dəl/ slowly, /gyog-pa-gyog-pa/ fast. A few more adverbs belonging to this class are—/cir mare/ any how, /gyog-pa/ quickly, fastly, etc.

7.1.4. *Adverb of degree*: The number of adverbs of degree or indicating the intensity of action or degree of another adverb modified by it, is very small. Some of the commonly used adverbs of this class are /minɖa/ very: /te tulce la minɖa kyop'aɬu to/ he is very fast in walking, /kho minɖa is /əb zaro/ he eats very much.

7.1.5. *Syntactic order of Adverb*: As stated above the place of an adverb, in a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb, as in /kho. yonson/ he came, but /kho dañ 'yon-soñ/ he came yesterday. But when there are more than one adverbs in an utterance then they occur in a more or less fixed order. For instance, if there are two adverbs belonging to

the spatial and temporal categories then the adverb of time will precede the adverb of place, as in /kho dañ iru yonson/ he came here yesterday. In case of occurrence of more than one adverb of the same class than the specificative term will precede the general or common term, as in /kho dañ phitog iru yonson/ he came here yesterday evening. In this case the term for day precedes the term for time. Further, in case of adverb of manner it follows the adverb of time but precedes the adverb of place, as in /kho dañ phitog khðrola iru yonson/ he quietly came here yesterday evening; /kho dañ phitog zðrk rðmba iru yonson/ he runningly came here last evening.

7.1.6. *Overlapping with Adj.* There are some adverbs, particularly, intensifiers which formly overlap with adjectives. For example, in /mində gyalə ʈu/ very good boy, the intensifier 'very' is an adjective because it modifies the adj. 'good' which in its term modifies the noun 'boy', but in /te tulce la mindakyop'aʈu to/ he is very fast in walking, it is an adverb which modifies another adverb 'fast'.

## 7.2. Particles

Besides the adverbs or the modifiers of the verb or verbal phrase, there are some indeclinable words which can be attached to any word in the sentence for denoting emphasis, contrast, negation, or connecting elements of the same nature or sentence. In grammatical parlance these are termed as 'particles'. The forms and functions of these particles in Tod may be illustrated as under:

7.2.1. *Connectives:* The primary function of this class of words is to conjoin the two elements of the same nature, may be words, clauses or sentences. Conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinating, and those joining one or more subordinate sentences to the principal sentence are called subordinating. In Tod, the number of words belonging to this class is very small. For in most of the cases the purpose of a connective, at least while conjoining two sentences is served by a pause juncture itself /khoi zeroʈna za yoʈ/ he said, I am ill. Semantically, parti-

cles belonging to this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, and differentiative. The uses of some of these may be illustrated as follows:

7.2.2. *Additive*: The additive particle in Tod is /dðn/ e.g. /ram dðn mohðn/ Ram and Mohan, but in coordinative sentences its function is usually served by a pause juncture:

/kho ñala zace toñ†ña khola ðaba toñ/

he gave me food (and) I gave him money.

/khoe tañ†ne thuñ/ he gave (and) I drank.

/khoe coeson†ñaze zoepfen/ he cooked (and) we ate.

7.2.3. *Subordinative*: In fact, these languages do not prefer subordinative type of syntactic constructions. In such cases the function of the subordinative connectives is served by a pause juncture and both the sentences are put in a direct form of speech or in some other forms.

/khoi zero+ña zu yo?/ he said (that) he was ill—he said, I am ill.

/ñe taleni† lem chace gyalā mino?/

I think, (that) it is not good to go just now.

/ña khðñparu taken dephila iru suðñ mino/

I shall remain at home, because nobody is here.

/khoe zerphen†ñala zu rak/ he said, I am ill.

/ña dañ lðm ga?de†'yon mðkhyui/

I could not come yesterday (because) the road was blocked.

/khyo 'hyoñ chðrpa t'ene ña chen/

your coming, then I will go=when you come, then I will go.

7.2.4. *Contrastive*: The contrastive particles in Tod are—/demðna/ 'otherwise', but there is no word for 'but':

/te nani tod demðna soñ/ sit if you have to, otherwise go.

/khyorañ chana mðchana ña chakose na/

whether you go or not, (but) I will have to go.

7.2.5. *Emphatic particles*: In an utterance, normally, it is the stronger stress/pitch accent on the particular syllable of the word concerned that determines the intended emphasis of the speaker, but to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements are also added to them. The most commonly used devices are—(1) suffixation of emphatic element /-e/ as in /ñarañ-kae chen/ I myself will go; /khyorañ ðul/ you also go.

(2) Only emphasis on the initial syllable;

/ña 'teru yonde ðeten/ I shall explain after having come there only (emphasis on 'te-).

/na 'iru teken/ I shall remain at this very place.

7.2.6. *Negative particle*: It has only one negative particle, viz. /mð/ which negates the being of any thing in general, as well as prohibits the execution of an action. The usual position of the negative particles /mð/ in a sentence is immediately after element/ action negated by it.

/ram gyala ðu to'/ Ram is a good boy.

/ram g'yala ðu mðna/ Ram is not a good boy.

/kho' yona/ he will come.

/kho' yo mðna/ he will not come.

/kho khðñpa la chana/ he will go home.

/kho khðñpa la chamðna/ he will not go home.

/ña khyola chace mðten/ I shall not allow you to go.

/kho charo/ he is going.

/kho chaminu/ he is not going.

In the above examples it may be noted that in future tense constructions the negative particle /mð/ is infixes between

the stem and the future marker suffix. The examples of the prohibition are as under:

/khənpa la soŋ/ go home;

/khənpa la məsoŋ/ don't go home.

/iru soʔ/ come here: /iru məyo/ don't come here.

/zo/ eat: /məza/ don't eat.

/thuŋ/ drink: /məthuŋ/ do not drink.

7.2.7. *Interrogative particles*: In Tod, the interrogative particles used with reference to 'yes', 'no' type answers are /či/ 'whether, and /-a/. The former may be placed in the beginning of the sentence or at the end of it, and the latter is suffixed to the verb form concerned:

/kho khyoe ato hinaʔ/ If he is your brother?

/kho yoa mənna či/ whether he will not come?

/yua yomaʔ/ you are coming? Is'nt it?

/či ram gyalə ʔu mənna/ is Ram not a good boy?

/kho daŋ iru'yon sona/ did he come here yesterday?

All these sentences are uttered with a terminal interrogative intonation.

7.2.8. *Interjections*: Interjections are complete sentences, which carry the sentence intonation. A few of them commonly used in Tod are=/lama khen!~/cilol/ al, oh, /ho/ yes, /ka:sə/ yes, /men/ no, /thuzece kə tinche/ thanks, /oi~ua~u/ calling attention, /izu hin khamaʔ/ is it so? /lamakonkok khen/ Oh Lord, Oh God! etc.

## 8.0. SYNTAX

In a way, various aspects of the morphosyntactic structure of Tod have been discussed in the foregoing sections of this analysis. Here we shall briefly present them in a more or less formal way. The nature and the structure of various types of sentences in Tod is as under:

### 8.1. Types of Sentences

Normally, like other languages of this group, Tod too, favours a simple sentence. Even ideas of complex nature too, are expressed through more than one simple sentences. However, if necessary, these can be expressed by combining together more than one simple sentence or clause by means of connectors or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

### 8.2. Constituents of A Simple Sentence

The essential constituents of a simple sentence are—a noun phrase constituting the subject, and a verb phrase constituting the predicate. The normal order of occurrence of these elements in a simple sentence is—Subject+Object+Verb. As such syntactically it belongs to the SOV group.

/kho charo/ he is going.

/ne cici kušu zoemn/ I ate an apple.

/ne min sohən hin/ my name is Sohan.

/ñima šyðre/ the sun is rising.

In transitive sentences which contain more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object:

/ña khyot la ɖaba ten/ I shall give you money.

/khoe nala zace toñ/ he gave me food.

/ña i phəl ɬula taŋyo?/ I am giving this fruit to the child.

### 8.3. Noun Phrase

The constituents of a subject or noun phrase can be a single unqualified noun 'head' or a noun head plus one or more qualifiers, all preceding the noun head, *e.g.*

/kho zaro/ he is eating, /ñima šyðro/ the sun is rising;

/cūzo zipa/ small bird, /cūze mārpo zipa/ small red bird.

8.3.1. *Extension of noun phrase*: A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head, which may precede or follow the head concerned. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, they occur in the following order:

± demonstrative, ± numeral ± intensifier ± qualitative.

/g'epo mi/ (an) old man.

/cici g'epo mi/ one old man.

/cici semdəl riñmo g'epo mi/ an old man with long beard.

/cici karmo semdəl riñmo godol g'epo mi/

an old man with a long white beard and bald head.

/siri godol g'epo mi/ a completely bald headed old man.

From the above examples it is evident that in case of an extension of an N.P. a numeral qualifier precedes the qualitative modifiers. In case of more than one qualitative modifiers the one referring to 'colour' or 'size' precedes others, as in /karmo semdəl riñmo/ white long beard. However, in case of both occurring together the one referring to size precedes the one referring to colour, as in /cūze mārpo zipa/ small red bird, /cūze wāñpa buṭa/ small green tree. Moreover, an intensifier invariably precedes the element intensified by it, e.g. /siri godol g'epo mi/ completely bald headed man; /cici mārpo mārpo zipa/ a very red bird.

#### 8.4. Agreement of Modifiers with the Head

As stated earlier (4.3) all modifiers in Tod, except the pronominal ones, belong to indeclinable class of words as such in this no modifier/qualifier shows any kind of agreement with the noun qualified by it, for examples, /cūze buṭa/ small tree; /cūze zipa/ small bird; /rumpo ṭu/ fat boy; /rumpo b'omo/ fat girl; /rumpo b'umo-huñ/ fat girls.

#### 8.5. Verb Phrase

A simple verb phrase or a V. P. contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers

or a main verb plus one or more auxiliaries. In case of a finite verb the V. P. can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative verb it needs a complement to complete it, which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb:

/kho zaro/ he is eating.

/kho gotug/ he is laughing.

/ñima šyðro/ the sun is rising.

/mohðn ñe noše hin/ Mohan is my friend.

/te ta mðrpo to/ that horse is a red one.

8.5.1. *Components of a composite verb phrase*: The constituents of a composite verb phrase are: Principal verb stem,  $\pm$ one or more full verb stem,  $\pm$ auxiliary. Syntactically, the place of the auxiliary is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all the morphological markers of the V. P. concerned.

/kho thankaru ñalcharto/ he has slept on the ground.

/ña khðñpala chace khðmra/ I want to go home.

/kho naza la toede godso-soñ/ he started laughing on seeing us.

8.5.2. *Extension of verb phrase*: A verb phrase can, normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb, an adverb phrase or a complement:

/kho 'yon soñ/ he came.

/kho ðaŋ 'yonson/ he came yesterday.

/kho ðaŋ iru 'yonson/ he came here last evening.

/khycran tirin phitog naze khðñpala so?/.  
you come to our home (place) today evening.

## 8.6. Concord

It is well-known that these languages have no grammatical gender. As such the scope of agreement between the subject/



object and the verb is limited to the number and the person categories only, which may be explained as follows:

8.6.1. *Concord in subjectival constructions:* In all subjectival constructions the agreement takes place between the subject and the verb only, the subject may be in the ergative case or in the direct case.

Interestingly, the verb is not inflected for number in Tod. Moreover, it is not inflected for person as well, except for the 1st person in the present tense. In other tenses it has uniformly one single form. As such there is very little scope for dealing with this aspect of the syntax in it:

/kho zaro?/ he eats: /khoba zaro?/ they eat.

/khyot zaro?/ thou eatest: /khyo/za zaro?/ you eat.

/na zaro?/ I eat: /naza zaro?/ we eat.

Similarly, in the past tense it is /zaro p'en/ for all persons and numbers and in the future tense /zana/ 'he /they/ thou /you/I/ we shall eat.

/sinka la cici rama to?/ there is one goat in the field.

/sinka la lug g?, ya to/ there are 100 sheep in the field.

/buṭa la zipa ni to?/ there are two birds on the tree.

8.6.2. *Concord in objectival constructions:* In objectival constructions there is a concord between the verb and the object. But Tod does not attest any agreement in this respect too.

/nala lug g'ya yo?/ I have 100 sheep.

/khola cici khi to?/ he has one dog.

/khoi kola gḁm naṅla cusoṅ/ he put clothes in the box.

/khoisi tibi g'oe khola borsoṅ/ he put the cap on the head.

In these constructions if at all there is any agreement it is between the subject and the verb, and that too in the present tense only, as is seen in the above given first two examples:

**8.7. Types of Simple Sentences**

Semantically or structurally a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative etc. and an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal or causative etc. All these aspects of the verb with their morpho-syntactic character have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself. There reproduction here will be a mere repetition of facts which have already been explained.

**8.8. Compound Sentences**

Compound sentences are a combination of two independent sentences joined together by a coordinative conjunction, or additive conjunctions, but in Tod there occurs an open juncture, instead of a conjunctive particle between the two sentences:

/kho taŋt̪n̪e thuŋ/ he gave (and) I drank.

/khoe coeson̪t̪n̪aze zoep̪hen/ he cooked (and) we ate.

/khyoraŋ ɖult̪n̪araŋkae chen/ you move, I shall go.

**8.8.1. Coordinative sentences:** This type of sentences are conjoined by coordinative conjunctions like, 'either. . . or . . .', 'neither . . . nor . . .', otherwise, etc.

/khyoraŋ chana machana ŋa chakosena/

whether you go or not, I will have to go.

/t̪E ŋani tod, dem̪na soŋ/

sit, if you want, otherwise go=either sit or go.

/kho na zaro na zace taŋduk/

he neither eats nor allows to eat.

/'yena khyotraŋ soŋ, 'yena aco kol/

either you go or send your brother.

/yena khoran̪ ma yon̪soŋ 'yena khoa m̪ə̌k̪ə̌lsu/

neither he himself comes, nor sends any one.

It may be interesting to note that in Tod, a subordinate clause, with an imperative sense is expressed with future sense if the principal clause is in the future tense, for example see the first sentence in the list of above given examples.

### 8.9. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences too are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but there one of them is subordinate or dependent to the other. The number of dependent clauses may be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and the verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for Tod.

8.9.1. *Conditional*: In this type of syntactic constructions the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers, viz. 'if' and 'then' (expressed or inexpressed). In which the 'if' clause is a subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/khyot chərpa, t'ene na chen/

when (after) you come then I shall go.

8.9.2. *Complemental*: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. In Tod, in this too, the conjoining conjunct is, normally, left out, and its purpose is served by a pause juncture,

/khai zero, na zu yo?/ he said, I am ill.

/ni talyeni, lem chace gyala mino/

I think, it is not good to leave just now.

/khai diro, khai teru ci cason/

he told, what he did there.

/ña zerphen, ñala zu krak/ I said, I am ill.

/ña timen, nðm 'yuen/ I asked, when will you come?

8.9.3. *Relative*: In this type of complex sentences the relative clause, which is introduced by a relative pronoun, functions as a subject or the complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/ke ñhiñmo siac (siwa)/ whosoever is born, shall die.

/su.'yoñ, khola thobe/ whosoever comes, will get.

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